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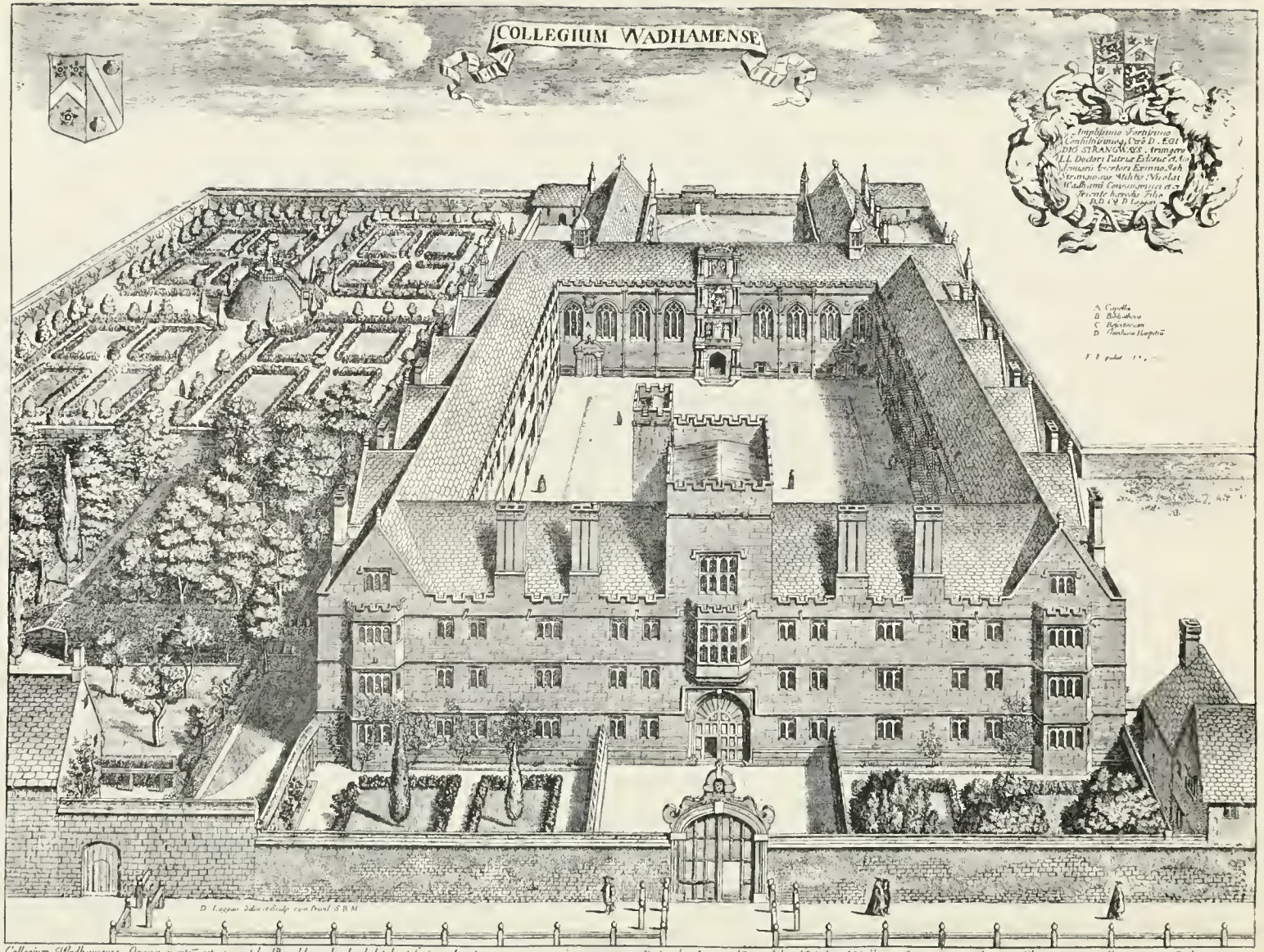

Frontispiece

WADHAM COLLEGE, FROM THE PRINT BY LOGGAN, A.D. 1675.

PLATE I

WADHAM COLLEGE OXFORD

ITS FOUNDATION ARCHITECTURE AND HISTORY WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILY OF WADHAM AND THEIR SEATS IN SOMERSET AND DEVON

BY T. G. JACKSON, A.R.A. ARCHITECT
SOMETIME FELLOW AND NOW
HONORARY FELLOW OF
WADHAM COLLEGE

AUTHOR OF 'DALMATIA THE
QUARNERO AND ISTRIA,' ETC.

OXFORD AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
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TO THE

WARDEN AND FELLOWS

OF

WADHAM COLLEGE

I DEDICATE

THIS RECORD OF OUR SOCIETY

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PREFACE

The Colleges of our ancient Universities are an institution peculiar to ourselves. Of all the differences that distinguish a career at Oxford or Cambridge from one at a foreign University none have so great an influence as these independent and endowed foundations which gather students into groups, living together with associations, interests, and an 'esprit de corps' of their own, in addition to those which they all share in common. Till recent legislation was directed to restore the supremacy of the University over the Colleges the latter held the first place in public estimation. To 'go to College' is still the popular expression for an University career, though the Colleges have no longer the monopoly of matriculation; and it is still on the Collegiate buildings rather than on those of the University that the architectural splendour of Oxford and Cambridge mainly depends.

In the following pages I have attempted to give a tolerably complete account of the Society and Fabric of a single Oxford College. It is natural that it should be that one which I know best and to the archives of which I have the readiest access: but independently of these considerations there are many reasons in favour of the choice. Though not among the oldest, largest, or wealthiest of the Oxford

Colleges, WADHAM is in many respects a typical specimen. Its buildings were completed at once, and have suffered less change than any other; its records are perhaps more complete; and its comparatively modern date, on the border line between the middle ages and our own, makes a closer acquaintance possible with the Founders and earlier members of the Society. The buildings remain as the Foundress left them; the building accounts show not only every penny spent on the fabric, but the name of every workman who laboured upon it; the records and minutes go back to the first meeting of the Society; and the Registers —thanks to the industry of Mr. GARDINER, formerly a Scholar of the House—will soon be complete from the foundation to our own day.

To students of architecture the College offers many points of interest which are fully illustrated by geometrical plans and drawings, by reproductions of early views by Loggan and others, and by original sketches of my own. There is no more charming example of Jacobean architecture in its more restrained and sober mood; and at this moment of rebellion against the '*professional*' view of architecture the building has an especial interest as one of the last examples of work designed and carried out by the '*craftsman-architect*' whose day was then nearly over, and whom it is now the object of many of us to revive.

Frequent reference is made to the building accounts, which are of the greatest interest not only to the architect and antiquary but to the student of economics. They supply a tolerably complete schedule of prices both of labour and materials at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and throw a full light on the methods of employing and paying workmen and on the still vexed question of day-work and piece-work. Should these accounts, which are actually edited in readiness for the press, be hereafter printed, as we hope they may be, they would form a valuable appendix to the present volume.

The great book of Messrs. Willis and Clark on the architecture of Cambridge has dealt exhaustively not only with the buildings of

that University but with the Collegiate plan generally. No parallel work exists for Oxford, and in describing a single College I have been obliged to some extent to enter into general matters which in a comprehensive work on Oxford would have been dealt with once for all for the whole University. How much I owe to Messrs. Willis and Clark's magnificent volumes will be readily gathered from the succeeding pages.

My obligations must also be recorded to 'the Registers of Wadham College,' by the Rev. R. B. Gardiner, to which I have already referred, and to the collections in MS. formed by the late Rev. John Griffiths, D.D., sometime Warden of the College. In almost all my researches I found Dr. Griffiths had been before me; I can only regret that the history of the College which he intended was never written. At his death he bequeathed to the College an extremely valuable collection of prints, drawings, and medals in gold, silver, and bronze, relating to members of the College, and personages—Royal and others—who had been in any way connected with it, which affords an inexhaustible source of information, and illustrates its history with a completeness perhaps unparalleled at either University.

In conclusion I have to acknowledge with gratitude my obligations for much valuable information to Mr. H. Maxwell Lyte, C.B., Deputy Keeper of the Records; to Mr. Lionel Cust, of the British Museum; to Mr. E. Gordon Duff, a member of the College, for his interesting account of the books in the Library; to the Rev. Octavius Ogle, sometime Fellow of Lincoln and a Scholar of Wadham; to the Rev. Robert Codrington, D.D., formerly Fellow, and Mr. J. K. Floyer, a member of the College, collateral descendants of the Founder, for much information about the pedigree and heraldry of the family; and to Mr. Wilfred Cripps, C.B., for his valuable remarks on the silver plate. Also to the Rev. R. B. Poole, Vicar of Ilton; the Rev. J. R. Briscoe, Vicar of Ilminster; and the Rev. R. Swansborough, Vicar of Branscombe, for access to their Registers and other information relating to the Family of Wadham.

Above all I have to thank the present Warden and Fellows of Wadham College for the free use allowed me of all their documents and archives, and for much personal help in my researches. In bringing to an end a work of considerable labour, which, having to be undertaken in the intervals of other avocations, has extended over many years, I can only hope that it may not be altogether an unworthy record of the ancient House which is so deservedly dear to all her sons.

T. G. J.

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WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD

CHAPTER I

WADHAM COLLEGE is a Post-Reformation foundation, and, excepting those established in our own day, among the youngest of the Oxford Colleges; but it belongs nevertheless to the series of ancient houses of learning with which Oxford was endowed successively throughout the middle ages. Its Statutes, though they contain some novel regulations which anticipate modern reforms, are still for the most part copied from those of the older foundations, and its buildings are modelled on the type which from the time of William of Wykeham downwards had been accepted as the proper form of an Oxford College. Though it was built in the time of James I the inmates of Wadham were placed in chambers and studies arranged as they had been in every College at either University from the fourteenth century downwards; the Warden was lodged over the Great Gate, the place chosen by Wykeham for his Warden at New College, and adopted in imitation of him by most subsequent founders for the Heads of their own foundations; the Chapel and Hall were grouped together on one side of an enclosed quadrangle according to the plan usual at Oxford, though in this case with certain differences; and the Chapel was built on the transeptal plan without a western limb, which is perhaps an accident at Merton, but was deliberately adopted at New College and imitated at Magdalen and All Souls. The same Statutes which repeat the mediæval conditions of celibacy for the members of the Foundation repeat also the ancient rules for behaviour in Hall, for reading the Bible during dinner as in the convents of old,

for speaking only in Latin or a learned tongue within the College precincts, and for the mode of allotting chambers, and using the Library.

Adherence to mediæval plan.

While therefore we should be disappointed if we were led by the lateness of the date of Wadham College, and the novelty of the circumstances under which it was founded, to expect a violent breaking with the past, and a new departure either in the constitution of the College or its architecture, a certain interest is to be found in the fact itself that there is so little about it unlike what had gone before, and in its faithfulness to traditional types both as regards the organization of the new Society and the buildings in which its members were housed. This makes the College abundantly interesting from an architectural point of

and to the Gothic style.

view, as an instance of that strong predilection for the Gothic style which perhaps was never completely lost in England, and which held its own nowhere more tenaciously than at our ancient Universities. Oxford in the seventeenth century was the battlefield where Gothic and Neo-Classic still met on something like equal terms. It was impossible even there to ignore the new style which not only had prevailed for a long time on the Continent, but had actually obtained a footing on English soil nearly a hundred years before, and had inspired the work of John Thorpe and the Elizabethan architects of the preceding century. But although the forms of classic columns and entablatures were reluctantly admitted and used as decorative features, the whole system of construction and indeed the main aspect of the buildings retained a Gothic character. The five orders might be piled up one above another, and figures or busts in Roman costume placed in round-headed niches, but the mullioned lights, four-centred doorways, high pitched roofs and numerous gables proclaimed the buildings to be Gothic works in spite of all apparent contradiction; and the windows of Chapel, Hall, or Library were filled with tracery which, though often debased and eccentric, at other times imitated so well the character of fifteenth-century work as to have imposed on

Survival of Gothic at the Universities.

skilled archæologists. So long did this mixed style prevail at Oxford, and though with some differences at Cambridge, that it almost amounts to an academical style. The fine Gothic fan vaulting and central pillar of the Hall staircase at Christ Church were erected[1] in 1640, the year

[1] Jewitt. Another date given for it is 1630.

after Inigo Jones presented to the king his Palladian design for the Palace of Whitehall. The chapel and hall of St. Mary Hall with elaborate traceries of fair Gothic work are of the same date, and the chapel of Brasenose College, which has pointed and traceried windows set between Classic pilasters, was not finished till 1666. At Wadham, which was finished in 1613, although the main building conforms to the mixed style of the period, an apparently uncontrollable impulse prompted the builders to revert to regular perpendicular Gothic in the choir of the chapel.

The Collegiate plan.

The plan which in the seventeenth century and long before that period had become accepted as proper for an Oxford college had been itself the result of many tentative steps and of gradual progress. Wadham is one outcome of these experiments, and shows the type in its completeness, with all the various modifications and improvements that had from time to time suggested themselves and been embodied into the collegiate pattern. The day had long gone by when a college housed itself in a group of detached buildings, sometimes composed of two or three old academic halls or private houses thrown together, sometimes built for the purpose and standing more or less irregularly round an open space; when a private chapel was unheard of, and the Society held its services in the neighbouring parish church [1]. The oratories in which colleges at first obtained leave to hold services, but without the right of administering Sacraments, a privilege jealously withheld by Pope and Bishop out of regard for the interests of the parochial clergy, had begun to give way to regular chapels as early as the fourteenth century. But till the magnificent foundations of Wykeham there was no example of a college built on a consistent plan, and completely furnished with chapel, hall, lodgings, kitchen, cloister, and cemetery, all grouped regularly and compactly round a quadrangle, and conforming to one consistent architectural design. This result of former experience once attained it was

Original type of a College.

Wykeham's complete Collegiate plan.

[1] Balliol used an aisle of St. Mary Magdalen; Exeter worshipped in St. Peter's in the East while the College stood in that parish, and afterwards in St. Mildred's; University in St. Peter's in the East and St. Mary's; Oriel in St. Mary's; and Lincoln in All Saints. Merton still uses the parish church of St. John the Baptist for its Chapel, and affords the only instance of the original practice that has survived. v. Ant. à Wood, 'Coll. and Halls;' Clark's 'Colleges of Oxford;' Willis and Clark, iii. 485, &c.

never again forgotten, and New College has served as the model which all succeeding colleges at Oxford imitated more or less closely.

Wadham shows Collegiate type completed.

Of the collegiate type so perfected, Wadham remains a singularly complete specimen. The original building stands as the builders left it, without either diminution or addition; and in this respect it is unique. No other college at either University has remained so nearly unaltered, for though additions have been made to it they are all detached buildings, near the College but not touching or concealing any part of the original structure. Wadham remains to this day what Fuller described it shortly after its foundation, 'of all Colleges in Oxford the most uniform.'

The family of Wadham.

The family of the Founder was one of great wealth and consequence in the West of England. From Wadham or Wadeham, in the parish of Knowstone, North Devon, a manor from which they took their name, and where they were settled at least as far back as the reign of Edward I, they removed to Egge, or Edge, in the parish of Branscombe, near Seaton. This manor had belonged to the family of Branscombe, who parted with it to the Wadhams before the end of Edward III's reign, when we find Sir John Wadham residing there. The prosperity of the family was advanced by his son and successor, Sir John Wadham, Justice of the Common Pleas in the reign of Richard II. His records extend from 1388 to 1397, when he either retired or was superseded, for he appears to have been still alive in 1411–1412[1]. '*All I have met with him further*,' says the Devonshire biographer[2], '*is this encomium, that being free of speech, he mingled it well with discretion; so that he never touched any man, how mean soever, out of order, either for sport or spight; but with alacrity of spirit and soundness of understanding menaged all his proceedings.*' The Judge added considerably to his ancestral estates at Wadham and Edge, and the 'Inquisitio post mortem' in 1413 mentions six manors in Gloucester, Dorset, and Somerset, among the latter being 'Muryfield,' near Ilminster, and three manors in Devon, besides lands and messuages in 23 parishes. By his wife Joan Wrottesley he left two sons, of whom the elder, Sir William Wadham, married the heiress of

Sir John Wadham, regn. Rich. II.

Sir William Wadham.

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[1] Foss, 'Judges of England.'

[2] Prince, 'Worthies of Devon.'

the Chesildons, who brought him the manor of Rewe in Dorset, where his arms impaling his wife's may be seen carved on the Church pews[1].

Sir William, who was sheriff of Devon in 1438[2], lies buried with his mother in a splendid altar tomb at Ilminster, in the transept traditionally known as 'the Wadham aisle,' of which there is every reason to believe he was the builder.

The Wadhams of Catherston.

Of the numerous children of Sir William Wadham, who died in 1452, a younger son married a Dorsetshire heiress, and founded the branch of Wadham of Catherston, one of whom, John Wadham, who died in 1584, was '*Captayne of the Queens Maities Castell of Soudesfoote besides Weymouth*,' and also Recorder of Lyme-Regis[3]. The eldest son of Sir William, Sir John Wadham of Merifield, added to the family possessions by his marriage with the heiress of the Pophams. His grandson, Sir Nicholas, filled many offices of trust and importance under Henry VIII. In 1509 he was appointed Captain of the Isle of Wight. He was one of the Commission for fitting out at Southampton the abortive expedition dispatched under the Marquis of Dorset to aid Ferdinand of Spain in his invasion of France, and was appointed one of the Vice-Admirals to Lord Surrey, High Admiral of England. In 1524 a patent was granted, licensing him to make a park at Merifield of 200 acres of pasture and 40 acres of woodland, and in 1530 he was appointed one of the Commissioners for making inquisition into the estates of Cardinal Wolsey[4]. He married four times, his second wife being the sister of Sir John Seymour, Knight, and aunt of Queen Jane Seymour[5]. She lies buried at Carisbrook, in the Isle of Wight, of which her husband was governor, and in niches at the back of the tomb, on either side of her kneeling figure, are statuettes of cripples and invalids, to whom, according to tradition, she was a charitable benefactress[6].

Sir Nicholas Wadham, regn. Hen. VIII.

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[1] Rogers, 'Sepulch. Monuments of Devon,' p. 170. [2] Hutchins, Rogers.

[3] His epitaph at Whitchurch Canonicorum is given by Mr. Rogers, 'Mem. of the West,' p. 159. He adds that this branch of the Wadhams became extinct about 1707. Gilbert ('Hist. of Cornwall,' vol. iii. p. 20) mentions a monument in Liskeard Church to Joseph Wadham, who died in 1707, 'being the last of that family, founders of Wadham College, Oxford.' [4] Hutchins, 'Hist. of Dorset.'

[5] Not *sister* as Mr. Rogers has it. v. Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 148.

[6] The tomb is described and illustrated by a slight sketch in Mr. Rogers's 'Mem. of the West.'

Mr. John Wadham.

John Wadham, son to Sir Nicholas by his first marriage, continued the main line at Merifield and Edge. He married Joan, a coheiress of the Tregarthins of Cornwall, and widow of John Kellaway of Collumpton, who brought him a considerable fortune, and some accession of dignity, for she claimed royal descent on both sides, as the accompanying pedigree explains. (v. p. 25.)

John Wadham died in $157\frac{7}{8}$[1], and was buried at Ilminster, where, however, no monument to his memory exists. His widow retired to Edge, the Devonshire seat, which was settled on her for her life and seems to have been the dower house of the family, where she died in 1583. Her tomb in the church at Branscombe will be described in a subsequent chapter.

NICHOLAS WADHAM, the Founder.

Their son Nicholas Wadham, of Merifield and Edge, the founder of the college that bears his name, was the last male descendant of the main line of the Wadhams. He was born in 1532, and according to all accounts educated at Oxford. Anthony Wood doubts whether he were of Corpus Christi College or Christ Church. 'Dr. Boswell,' he says, 'told me that Nicholas Wadham was of Ch. Ch., and lodged in those lodgings that are now Dr. (Edward) Pocock's (but then I believe Dr. (John) Kennall's), but the said Dr. Kennall refusing to take any rent Wadham gave him a parsonage as 'tis said in Somersetshire[2].' On the other hand his name does not appear on the Register of Christ Church, and an early biographical sketch, written between 1609 and 1637, and preserved in Wadham College, says positively he was of Corpus, 'whence he departed and for a short time led the life of a courtier.' *Nicholaus Wadhamus Illustri, Antiqua, Generosa Familia natus apud Merifield in Com. Somerset: in literis educatus; Oxonii Coll. C. C. ad tempus Commensalis; unde discessit, et vitam Aulicam aliquantisper ingressus est. Postea Uxorem duxit Dorothæam, D. Gulielmi Petræi, Henrici Octavi, Edvardi* 6ti *Reginæ Mariæ et Elizabethæ a Consiliis Secretioribus, Filiam: nuperi Johannis D. Petræi de Writtle Sororem; Gulielmi D. Petræi Baronis de Writtle hodie viventis Amitam. Inde ad vitam privatam sese contulit;*

[1] His will (Gen. Prob. Reg., 14, Langley) is proved in Prerog. Court of Cant. 15 March, $157\frac{7}{8}$.

[2] From Wood's Diary in Bodl. Dr. William Boswell was one of the first Scholars of Wadham. I am indebted to the Rev. Oct. Ogle for this extract from Wood.

NICOLAVS WADHAM ARMIGER
FUNDATOR OBIIT 20° DIE OCTOBR ANO D̄NI 1609

From a painting in the Warden's Lodging.

ubi hospitalitate omnibus circumquaque seu Nobilibus seu Generosis antecellebat: Pauperibus præter aliam quotidianam munificentiam Ptochotrophium erexit diu ante mortem. Collegium meditabatur non diu ante mortem et Charissimæ uxori curam ejusdem extruendi demandavit. Pie mortuus est Octob. 20°.—*Ætatis suæ* 70°.—*Nath. Whally*[1]. Whether he is the same as the 'Nicholas Wadham, of Brimpton, Somerset,' who entered himself at the Inner Temple on March 9, 155$\frac{2}{3}$, is uncertain, for Brimpton never belonged to the Wadhams.

DOROTHY WADHAM, the Foundress.

At the age of twenty-three he married Dorothy, daughter of Sir William Petre, of Writtle in Essex, a statesman who, by carefully trimming his sails to the stormy politics of the age, contrived to retain the confidence and remain a privy councillor of monarchs so diverse as Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. For his zeal when acting under Cromwell in the suppression of the monasteries he was rewarded by knighthood, a seat in the Privy Council, and a Secretaryship of State, and more substantially by the grant of a great estate in abbey lands amounting to twelve manors and four rectories. On the restoration of the Romish religion by Queen Mary he was careful to secure his spoils by a Bull which he obtained from Paul IV in 1555, professing that he was ready to employ his possessions for spiritual uses. The accession of Elizabeth no doubt relieved him from this obligation, and it does not appear that beyond the eight fellowships which he founded at Exeter College in 1566, and some unimportant charities in Essex, any of his wealth was diverted to spiritual or charitable purposes[2].

The Founder and Foundress.

Nicholas Wadham and Dorothy Petre[3] were married at St. Botolph's,

[1] Written on the fly-leaf of a MS. copy of the Statutes, now in the Warden's lodgings, made for the Subwarden's use by Alex. Huish, one of the original Foundation. Nath. Whally did not enter the College till 1654, and therefore cannot have been the author, for William, Lord Petre, who is spoken of as still living, died in 1637. Whally probably transcribed an older account. The year of the Founder's death is omitted, and his age is wrong.

[2] For Sir William Petre, v. Prince's 'Worthies of Devon;' Wood's 'Athenae,' and 'Colleges and Halls;' Rogers, 'Mem. of the West.' Sir William Petre died in 1572, and was buried at Ingatestone. His son, Sir John, was created first Lord Petre of Writtle, July 21, 1603.

[3] 'Dorothy Wadham was married at London to Mr. Nicholas Wadham on Tuysdaye, the third of September, 1555, in the 2 & 3 year of K. Philip & Q. Marye.' From a MS. entry in a Prayer-book at Thorndon. Burgon, in 'Shaw's Arms of the Colleges of Oxford.' v. also Chester's 'Marriage Licenses, 1521–1869.' Ed. Foster, 1887.

in Aldersgate, on September 3, 1555, and they seem to have retired at once to lead a country life at Merifield, where Nicholas apparently resided with his wife during his father's lifetime. A curious letter has been preserved, undated, but evidently written to him at this time, by Sir Amyas Poulett, the Puritan custodian in after-times of Mary Stuart, and one of the persons who presided at her execution in 1587.

Letter of Sir Amyas Poulett.

> My good brother . . . . . I pray you comend me most hartely to my good ffather Wadham and tell him I trust to be so happie to se him againe in Meryfilde. My like comendacions maye not be forgotten to my good sister your wyfe. . . . . My syster must looke to heare manie strange stories from my wife if God giue her leaue to see England againe, and in this meane time she desyereth to be most hartely comended to her father, brother, and sister at Meryfeild. And thus I comitt you, my good brother, to the mercyfull tuition of the Almightie. From Tours[1].

Nicholas Wadham at Merifield.

Of the subsequent life of Nicholas Wadham, who became the head of the family at his father's death in 1577, we know little more than that he was famous for the splendid hospitality he kept at his ancestral seat of Merifield. In this he exceeded all his neighbours, whether gentle or noble. '*His hospital house,*' says Fuller, '*was an Inn at all times, a court at Christmas*[2]'; and in the deeds and papers relating to his foundations there are mentioned numerous gentlemen, his 'servants,' some of whom were related to him by blood, and served as pages no doubt in his retinue. His means were large, his estates being valued at £3000 a year, representing at least five times that amount at the present rate of money, and in spite of their splendid establishment, and the open house they kept, the Wadhams were able to put by a sum of money amounting to £14,000, which was invested in lands and other revenues that brought in an income of £800 a year[3]. They were childless, and Mr. Wadham *was wont to say that 'he had a good estate and had noe children to leave it too, and his kindred to whome he thought to leave his estate did not care for*

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[1] Printed p. 48 of Copybook of Sir Amyas Poulett's Letters. Edited for the Roxburghe Club, 1876, by Rev. Octavius Ogle.

[2] Fuller's 'Worthies,' Somersetshire. Vol. iii. p. 107, ed. 1840.

[3] Wood, 'Coll. and Halls,' p. 592. Gutch.

DOROTHEA WADHAM NICOLAI CONJUX
FUNDATRIX OBIIT 16° DIE MAII ANO DNI 1618

a painting in the Warden's Lodgings

him[1].' It is therefore not surprising that his thoughts turned to the bestowal of some of his wealth on charitable foundations.

The Wadham Almshouses at Ilton, A.D. 1606.

In the year 1606 he founded an almshouse for 'eight poore people' in the parish of Ilton, close to his house at Merifield, conveying to twelve trustees the building which he had lately erected for the purpose, together with a close of ground adjoining thereto, and an annuity of £42 chargeable on his estates in Merifield, Braydon, and Ilton. The deed of conveyance and the rules for the management of the Almshouses are interesting, and the building is still standing and serves its original purpose. We shall return to this hereafter.

THE WADHAM ALMSHOUSES AT ILTON.

Projected College at Venice for English Catholics.

He had, however, in view a much larger scheme of beneficence than this; and while the bulk of his estates, in default of any male issue, passed to the heirs of his father, that is to his three sisters and their descendants, Mr. Wadham determined that the sum he had saved should be employed in the foundation of a house of learning. The story goes that the first idea of Mr. and Mrs. Wadham was to found a college

[1] From Diary of Wood, in Bodleian Library. This has apparently been seen by Hutchins, 'Hist. of Dorset,' account of Catherston.

at Venice for English scholars of the Roman Catholic religion; they themselves, says Anthony à Wood, being of that persuasion. From this project it is said they were dissuaded by their friend Mr. Crange, '*a neighbor, (who was accounted a wise discrete man in that country). "Why," (said Mr. Crange), "doe as Sir Tho. Bodley hath lately done. As he hath built a library, soe you build a College, and you shall be remembered every day. It will last from generation to generation." Soe Mr. Wadham proceded and did all according to his counsell*[1].' The Venice scheme was abandoned, and Mr. Wadham determined to build a College at Oxford, '*that so the Church of England might reap benefit thereby*[2].'

Abandoned for Protestant College at Oxford.

This curious story is alluded to both by Fuller and by Prince, who, however, add no fresh information; Fuller merely remarking that if Mr. Wadham 'was, as some suggest, a Romanist in his judgment his charity is the more commendable, to build a place for persons of a different persuasion;' while Prince points out that Mrs. Wadham's statutes require all members of her College to resort to Divine service '*as it is now professed*[3].' If the story is true the hesitation between two such widely differing schemes as the foundation of a Popish college at Venice and one of the Reformed church at Oxford, is very significant of the time when men's minds still hovered between the church of the middle ages and that of the Reformation. If, however, Nicholas Wadham were really a Romanist, and had been driven by the disabilities under which those of his faith suffered at home to think seriously of founding a college for them at Venice, there were many reasons besides the arguments of his friend Mr. Crange to dissuade him. It has been suggested that the discovery of Gunpowder Plot in 1605 may have weakened his attachment, in common with that of many liberal and loyal Catholics, to the cause of the old faith[4]. At all events it directed popular suspicion against all who professed it. The Lords Mordaunt and Stourton were fined £10,000 and £4,000 respectively merely because they had absented

Impracticability of the Venice scheme.

[1] From Wood's Diary, in the Bodleian Library. 'Ex relatione M^ri (Gulielmi) Bull (Coll.) Omn. Anim. Aug. 1658.'

[2] Wood, 'Colleges and Halls.'

[3] Prince's 'Worthies of Devon,' p. 750. He wrote in 1700. Fuller in 1662.

[4] The credit of this suggestion is due to the present Warden of Wadham.

themselves from Parliament, as if they had been in the secret of the conspiracy: and the Stourtons were near neighbours of the Wadhams, and the two families had been twice connected by marriage. Above all, the Venice scheme comes very near if it does not amount to an offence which the law had anticipated and actually forbidden, and it would have exposed its author to the direful penalties of 'Præmunire,' which by a statute of 27 Eliz. were denounced against 'any person contributing to the support of any College of Jesuits or seminary erected or hereafter to be erected beyond the sea[1].' Everything therefore conspired to make the Venice scheme not only impolitic but actually dangerous.

Question of the Founder's religion.

But after all there is nothing except Wood's unsupported statement to prove Nicholas Wadham's attachment to the Roman Catholic religion. The letter of Sir Amyas Poulett, written certainly before 1577, reads like that of a man writing to a family of the same Puritan brotherhood and sisterhood as himself, as if not only Nicholas and his wife but John Wadham the father also were in sympathy with him[2]. And the friendship between Nicholas Wadham and Sir Amyas Poulett lasted to the end, for in his will, dated 1606, Mr. Wadham confirms Sir Amyas in the trusteeship of his estate at Edge. Stronger evidence of his conformity to the Established Church is to be found in the rules for the Almshouses at Ilton, where it is directed that one of the Almsmen shall be lettered so as to be able to read prayers daily to the rest, and to be ordained if the Bishop shall think fit; also his choice of the Bishop of Bath and Wells to be the Visitor of his new College, and not only that, but his desire that Bishop Montague, who was a zealous adherent of the Reformation, should retain the Visitorship for life even if he were translated to another Diocese, which actually happened. The statutes of the new College also, which though given by his widow were certainly drawn in accordance with his wishes, provide for chapel services

[1] Statutes at large. Burket, Woodfall, and Strahan. M DCC LXX.

[2] It would not do, perhaps, to attach very great significance to this correspondence, for John Wadham in his last will and testament dated April 1, 1577, desires his son Nicholas '*to doe and dispose for my soules health as to him shall seeme meete and good*,' which seems to savour of Rome; and yet in the same document he makes the Puritan Sir Amyas overseer of its due observance.

in conformity with the established liturgy and require attendance on them. Everything we know about the Founder seems to show that for the latter part of his life at all events he was conformable to the Reformed Church.

With his wife it may have been different. Though during her husband's life she seems to have been conformable like him, and although after his death she loyally carried out his wishes and intentions, and founded her College in strict conformity to the Established Church, still it appears that at some time before her death, apparently about 1613, the year of the completion of the College, she was presented as a recusant, and was at all events under suspicion of having relapsed to Romanism. She was however not obstinate in her recusancy, for she made her submission and received a pardon two years afterwards. For the remainder of her life she was 'conformable,' and she was buried at Ilminster beside her husband, with the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England.

The Foundress subsequently a recusant.

Nicholas Wadham was not destined to see the realization of his scheme for the new College. Both he and his wife had already reached an advanced age, and as he felt his end approaching before he had accomplished his design he seems to have concerned himself a good deal about the way in which his intentions were to be carried out. There is preserved in the College archives the following very interesting memorandum of an interview and conversation with him four days before his death, drawn up by one of his nephews, no doubt Sir John Wyndham :—

The Founder's last illness.

16 of October 1609[1].

Sir John Wyndham's Memorandum of the Founder's intentions.

I was sent for after dinner unto my Uncle Wadham by Mr. Bartlett there beinge present only with him my Aunte, Mr. Bartlett and Mr. Arnold. In the presence of them he told me of the greate care that he had for the erecting of a Colledge in Oxforde, as he had hearetofore often times acquainted me. that for the performance thereof, he had in Mr. Arnold's hands 4000li with the 500li of

[1] Warden's MSS. No. 9. This paper is endorsed 16 *October* 1609, *Wadham College*, and in a later hand, *Letter concerning the Intention of the Founder in favour of his College*. Dr. Griffiths observes that this copy of the notes was made at some time between the accession of George I in 1714 and the Union of Ireland in 1800, as is clear from the Royal Arms in the water-mark of the paper.

S^r. Henry Hawleys. and in Mr. Bartlett's hands which woulde shortly made up 2000^li which as he thought would be sufficient to procure above 300^li p ann̄ that he had 400^li the yeare in Essex, which he left unto my Aunte his wife duringe her life, yet hoped that out of her benevolence consideringe howe well he had dealt with her, that she would imparte a portion of it unto his Colledge during her life. Sir John Wyndham's Note of the Founder's intentions.

That his desire was to conferre it upon Gloster hall if S^t. Johns Colledge and the Principal might reasonably be compounded withall otherwise he did appointe it unto Jhesus Colledge.

That for the buildinge of a Chappell with buttery sellar and kitchinge he appointed 2000^li, whereof (as I understood him) one 1000^li was in his Studye, and the other 1000^li was to be made out of Hewnebeare. That also (as I understood him) he appointed the moitie of the Personage of Abbotsbury unto the Colledge.

That he must entreat me for the bestowinge of my Travayle and pains for the seinge of all things performed accordinge unto his Intention, as he had often heretofore discoursed with me about it for he did trust me only with it and reposed himself absolutely uppon me, and meant not that it shoulde be any wayes chargeable unto me, for I should have my charges absolutely defrayed in a liberall and a worthye manner to the uttermost.

That he appointed the advouson of the Personage of mayden Newton eyther unto the president of his Colledge or unto one of the fellowes that were capable of it when he was to leave the Colledge and for that ende had taken some course with Mr. Cliffe that was the incumbent and if it had pleased God to have spared his life a little longer that he would have made all the Personages in his gift unto the Colledge.

That for the geevinge of the Speedier furtherance unto his worke he entreated me to move my L^d. Treasurer for his honourable favour and to signifie unto him howe muche he had benne formerly bounde unto his honourable good father and also very particularly unto himself and made no doubt but out of his noble disposition he would be pleased to afforde his best assistance unto it, and prayed me to present unto his L^p. in his name a piece of plate or what else I thought fit would sute with his fancye to the value of 50^li. The like he desired me to deliver unto my L. of Northampton and my L. of Suffolke, with the best words that could for the obtayning of their honourable favours unto his worke.

He also willed me to present unto the Prince a white and pied nagge which he muche esteemed and in like mannor to entreate his Highnesses favour.

he growinge somewhat fainte with speakinge, I told him that by his often former discourses with me I understood his minde fully which by the grace of God I would see justly and truly performed to the uttermost of my power. and that heretofore he had acquainted me with divers Statutes which he would have made, amonge the which 2 of them might seeme strange, and perhaps might be thought to be added by myselfe, therefore I entreated him to express himselfe nowe whether he would have them to stande in force or no.

the one was that he would have an especiall Statute to be made that neyther the heade of the house nor any of the fellowes should be married.

The other that he would not tye any man to any profession as eyther divinitie lawe or Phisicke, but leave every man free to profess what he liked as it should please God to direct him.

he also then told me that after they weare M^rs^. of Arte of a competente number of yeares that then he would have them absolutely to departe the Colledge, and not live there all theire time like idle drones, but put themselves into the world, whereby others might growe up under them his intente beinge chiefly to nourishe & trayne up men unto Learninge.

One the 19 of Octob^e^ when he sealed the deede I told him howe necessary it was for him to have a visitor of his Colledge, all the Colledges in Oxford havinge some Bishoppe appointed by the founder for seeinge of the Statutes put in due execution. And that in my opinion there was none fitter then the Bishop of Bathe and Welles which he much applauded and thanked me muche for putting me in mind of him.

he also then sayd, that he would have his Colledge to be called Wadham Colledge.

It is remarkable that in his scheme for the new College the sagacity of the Founder anticipated two of the reforms that have in our own day been made general throughout the University by the intervention of Parliamentary Commissions; his Fellowships were only tenable for a limited number of years, and not only they, but the Wardenship itself, could be held without any condition of Holy Orders.

Death of the Founder, Oct. 20, 1609.

Nicholas Wadham died at Merifield at the age of seventy-seven on October 20th, 1609, only four days after the conversation with his nephew. He left the magnificent sum of £500 '*towardes my ffunerall expenses*' and his body to be buried '*in myne Ile at Ilminster where myne Auncestors lye interred.*' His obsequies were no doubt celebrated with great splendour, but even if the handsome monument that covers his remains were included in the funeral expenses, it is difficult to see

how so large a sum as £500 was in those days could have been expended [1].

The will makes no mention of any of his real property except the house and estate of Edge in Devonshire, which he left to his widow for her life, with reversion to the right heirs of John Wadham his father, on whom it would seem all the family estates were settled in default of any male issue of his own. His extensive property therefore devolved on his coheirs, the children of his three sisters who had married into the families of Strangways, Martin of Athelhampston, and Wyndham [2]. Provision for the new College had it would seem been made by some other instrument, for the College is not expressly mentioned in the will. It is only alluded to indirectly in a clause which makes his widow residuary legatee of all his personal property, and empowers her to sell for a life or lives '*any of the Landes or Tenements in Ilton which were purchased by me or by my deceased ffather . . . uppon ſpeciall truſte reposed in my ſayed executrix that she will bestowe and ymploy ſuch of the ſame ſommes of money to be made of the same sales for yeares, to ſuche uses and purposes as I have requeſted her and ſhe hath assented therunto according to my minde and true intent therein* [3].' John Lord Petre of Writtle, Sir Edward Hext, Knight, John Colles and William Gibbes, Esquires, are appointed overseers of his will, and his executrix is '*enjoyned to take counsell*' with them to clear up any doubt as to his mind and intent. His nephew, Sir John Wyndham, as well as his 'servants,' John Bartlett and John Arnold, Gents, seem also to have been charged with the matter.

The Founder's will.

Overseers of the Founder's will.

Mrs. Wadham was now seventy-five years old, but she undertook the task at once, and carried out her husband's designs with a promptitude that enabled her to see the College built and established for several years before her death nine years later. At the outset she seems to have met with some opposition and interference on the part

[1] Sir Thomas Bodley left £666 13*s.* 4*d.* for the expense of his funeral in 1612, of the splendour of which an account is given in Wood's Ann. ii. 314.

[2] In Ashmole's Berkshire, vol. iii. pp. 330–346, when he treats of the family of Latton into which a coheiress of the Martins married, is a list of the manors and lands in Devon, Dorset and Somerset which had belonged to Nicholas Wadham. There are nearly thirty manors besides tenements and lands in about twenty places.

[3] General Probate Registry, 118, Dorset.

of a colleague in the trust, we are not told who he was, and to have been afraid that the conduct of the business might be taken out of her hands. Possibly some suspicion of Romanist tendencies may have fallen on her. About a month after her husband's death she writes to Lord Treasurer Salisbury to interest him on her behalf[1]—

Letter from the Foundress to Lord Treasurer Salisbury.

To the Right honourable and my verie good Lorde Th erle of Salisburie, Lorde Heghe Threforer of England geue thefe at the Courte.

Right honorabell, My verey good Lord, my deceaffed hufband and myfelfe, haueinge taſted of yor formor favors, And the Licke (more then Ordinarie) Contynewed of Late by yor Lor̃: towarde mee ſithens his deathe; Enforcethe me to prefent you my right humbell thanks; And will acknowledge myselfe ever bounden unto you for the fame. Hit hath bene made knowen unto yor good Lor̃: of a Courfe taken by my Husbande for the Newe Erecting of a Colledge in Oxforde for wch performance hath apointed good means; And by former and often private fpeches wth mee as in licke forte by a fhorte Inſtrumente drawen upp not longe before he died, did allowe me the prioritie in the managing of thofe bufines Althoughe another was Nomynated wth me in the fame beinge the rather fett downe; for that he was of Gloster Hall, And p^retended to be habell to doe more to Compaſſe the pruringe[2] of that Houſe, then aney other. I humbelie befeech yor Honor, that if aney Conceyte happen to fchandalize my backwardnes in not effectinge fo worthie a Worke; bending my whole endevors to fee the fame finished w^thout delaie in my owne tyme, wch Cannot be Longe. That hit would please you to patronize and defende me from fuche wronge Imaginac̃ons defieringe noe longer to lyve, then to fhewe a frowarde difpofiton for the well pformance. And will rather Leave a poore and meane eſtate to my felfe, then aney thinge fhalbe wantinge for the well effectinge thereof. This berer my fervantt, whoe attendid my husband dailey, and att his laſte houre, Can relate his whole intencon yf hit may not be trobelfome to yor Lor̃ to heare him. And fo moſte humblie befeechinge yor good Lor̃ That I may bee foe boulde to Crave yor affiſtance upon aney occacon herein Will dailey praye that Thalmightie God maie bleſſe you wth longe and happey daies and fend you encreaſe of mytche Honor, from my poore Howfe att Merifeeld the xxvij^th of November 1609.

Yo^r Ho: in all humblenes
ever readie att Comãndmẽt

DOROTHE WADHM̃.

[1] State Papers, Domestic, James I, vol. xlix.

[2] Sc. procuring.

This letter, enforced by the arguments of her servant, probably the same John Arnold who had throughout the principal management of her affairs, and who no doubt brought with him the piece of plate of the value of £50 which the Founder had devoted to the service of the Lord Treasurer, seems to have had the desired effect. In the Spring of 1610, the Attorney-General, Sir Henry Hobart, was instructed to move in Chancery for the creation of a Trust in the persons of *Dorothie Wadham, wydowe, Sir William Petre and Sir John Wyndham, knights; Hugh Wyott, esquire; and John Bartlett and John Arnold, gênts, for the erection and endowment of Wadham Colledge in Oxon*[1]. The matter was referred to Sir John Tyndall, one of the Masters of the Court of Chancery, in June, and the Trust seems to have been formally constituted in July of the same year[2]. Creation of a Trust.

But the Foundress had not waited for the formal approval of the Court of Chancery, and by the time it was obtained the site of the new College had been bought and considerable progress made with the building. Following the directions of the Founder, proposals had in the first instance been made to Dr. Hawley, the Principal of Gloucester Hall, and to St. John's College, to which Society the Hall was then attached, for the purchase of the site of that Hall; but the Principal refused to surrender his interest unless Mrs. Wadham would make him the first Head of her new Society[3]. We may be thankful to Dr. Hawley for his pertinacity, to which it is due that the College was not founded on the remotest academical site in Oxford; for Mrs. Wadham, not fancying Dr. Hawley for her first Warden, abandoned the idea of Gloucester Hall, and fixed upon a far better and more convenient site. We hear nothing of any proposal being made, as the Founder directed, to Jesus College. Proposals to Gloucester Hall.

On the site where Wadham College now stands, a Priory of The Augustine Friars in Oxford.

[1] The list of lands and moneys put in trust and the names of the Trustees in each case are given. Warden's MSS. No. 10.

[2] Warden's MSS. No. 11, 12, 13.

[3] Anthony à Wood, 'Coll. and Halls,' p. 592. Gloucester Hall was originally founded by the Benedictines of Gloucester for the academical training of their novices. In 1559 it was bought by Sir Thomas White founder of St. John's College, and founded as St. John the Baptist's Hall, to be governed by one of the Fellows of his new college. In 1714 by the benefaction of Sir Thomas Cookes it was refounded as Worcester College.

Augustine Friars had been established by Royal charter in 1268, and a convent had shortly afterwards been built for them by the munificence of Sir John Handlow of Borstall near Brill in Buckinghamshire. 'As for their Mansion,' says Wood, 'it was situated without Smythgate, having had Holywell Street on the South side of it, and the cheif part of the ground on which Wadham College now standeth on the north. Which mansion and the limits about it being too narrow, these Brethren enlarged with land and tenements adjoyning that were given by benefactors. Their buildings were fair and larg and not only situated in a wholsome air as the Carmelites' House was, but convenient for the Academians as being neare School Street to perform their exercises[1].'

Like the other three mendicant orders, who were already established in Oxford, the Austin friars had theological and philosophical schools, the former of which they held in their church, and afterwards in their Chapter House; the other in their refectory. Wood implies that the popularity of these schools arose from the convenience of their position close to the other University schools, rather than from the superior skill of the Augustines in sophistry, for he finds them weakest in learning of all the mendicant orders in Oxford. However, the disputations in divinity continued to be held in the Austin friary till the new Divinity School was finished in 1480, and those in Arts till the suppression of monasteries by Henry VIII[2]. They were then removed to St. Mary's, and again when the Schools quadrangle was built in front of the Bodleian Library they migrated to that building; but in Wood's time the exercises in Arts still went by the name of *Disputations in Austins*', though held in a different building; and they continued under the

Disputations in Austins'.

[1] Anthony à Wood, 'City of Oxford,' (Clark) ch. xxxi. Smithgate was opposite the convent a short distance southwards, standing across Cat Street near the head of New College Lane. The little chapel of Our Lady, of which the doorway and perhaps the shell still remains, adjoined it on the east; v. Agas's map, and Skelton's 'Oxon. Ant. Rest.' plate 157. Smithgate was a postern not made passable for carts till 1635. Wood, 'City of Oxford,' vol. i. p. 259, note.

[2] 'Ordinatum est in congregatione Regentium ad utilitatem et ad prosperitatem scholarium in facultate artium studentium quod quilibet Baccalaureus facultatis ejusdem singulis annis ad Augustinenses semel disputare et semel respondere (teneatur) &c.' Statute of thirteenth century (?) quoted by Wood.

familiar style of 'doing Austins' without interruption until abolished by the new Statute of Examination in the year 1800[1].

Suppression of the Austin friary.

After the suppression of monasteries, Henry VIII leased the site of the Austin friary in 1540 for twenty-one years to Thomas Cawarden or Carden, Esq., for three pounds a year[2]. Edward VI granted it in 1552 to Henry Duke of Suffolk, and Thomas Duport, Gentleman, who straightway parted with it to Henry Baylie, M.D., lately Fellow of New College. From him it passed by purchase to his father-in-law, Edward Freer, Esq., of Oxford, whose son William, after having repeatedly let it to the City, '*to the end that the fair yearly held there before the Common gate might not be prejudicial to them*,' sold it to the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Corporation in 1587 for about £430[3]. The right to hold this fair on their own soil at the feast of St. John ante Portam Latinam every year for the space of five days had been granted to the convent by Edward IV in 1474. The charter, beautifully engrossed on parchment, and with the royal seal attached, is still preserved in the muniment room of the College.

The convent buildings.

Very little is known of the convent buildings. Wood says they stood on the south side of the site of Wadham College and southwards from it[4]. From other sources we gather that the convent church lay towards Holywell Street and parallel to it, and that north of the church was a quadrangle lying between the church and the refectory, which formed the north side of the court. On the west side of this court was a wing joining the church to the refectory, and containing chambers which in 1456 were allotted by the Friars to the representatives of John de Handlow, their founder. This wing would run parallel to what is now Park Street, then and long afterwards a lane with no buildings in it

[1] Ingram in vol. iii. of 'Memorials of Oxford.' Anthony à Wood was 'Collector in Austins' in 1655; v. his autobiography.

[2] Wood, 'Colleges and Halls,' p. 591. Cawarden paid 46*s.* for the house and site and 13*s.* 6*d.* for a tenement in 'Long rew' (Holywell Street) with a shop adjoining it. The large timber on the site was sold to another person. Wood's 'City of Oxford.' In the grant of Edward VI, a rent of 6*s.* a year was reserved to the crown, which was redeemed by the College in 1828 for £7 19*s.* 0*d.*

[3] The deeds are preserved in the Muniment room of the College.

[4] 'Colleges and Halls,' p. 593.

described as the '*vicus qui ducit ad Beaumond*,' and between the building and this lane was a narrow garden fifty feet deep[1].

The church.

The church was almost on the scale of a cathedral, if we may trust the rough measurements of William of Worcester, who says the choir was sixty paces long, and the nave sixty-six paces, and that the church was forty paces in width[2]. It has been somewhat fancifully suggested that its embattled steeple was one of eight which formed a coronal round Oxford,—'New College, Magdalen, Merton, Osney, Rewley, Blackfriars, Austin, and Grey[3].' Within its walls lay buried under a fair monument John de Handlow, the Founder, with several of his family around him; also Walter Curson and Isabelle his wife, of Waterpery, who were interred there in 1527, under a grey marble tomb inlaid with their effigies in brass, which on the downfall of the Friary and demolition of the church were removed to Waterpery church, where they may still be seen.

Destruction of the convent.

Of the convent of the Austin friars, who though at first the most ignorant order in Oxford became in time 'mickle sophisters,'—their wits being sharpened by the disputations in which all who aspired to a degree in Arts or Divinity were obliged to encounter them,—not a stone is now standing. Thomas Cawarden lost no time in converting the buildings to his own use to the best advantage. The structure was 'plucked downe,' and the stones, timber, and other material sold. Agas's map of 1578 shows the site cleared and divided by walls into plots of garden ground: the actual site of the College is quite vacant: four

The site divided up.

little houses or cottages are scattered over the southern part next Holywell Street, and a row of small houses faces what is now Park Street. There is nothing at all resembling a conventual building, or even part of one. Before 1590[4] it had been let to five or six different persons who are mentioned as having built houses and shops, or as being required by

[1] Kennett's 'Parochial Antiquities,' p. 672; ed. 1695. Wood's 'City of Oxford,' p. 454. 'Wood's Life and Times,' vol. i.

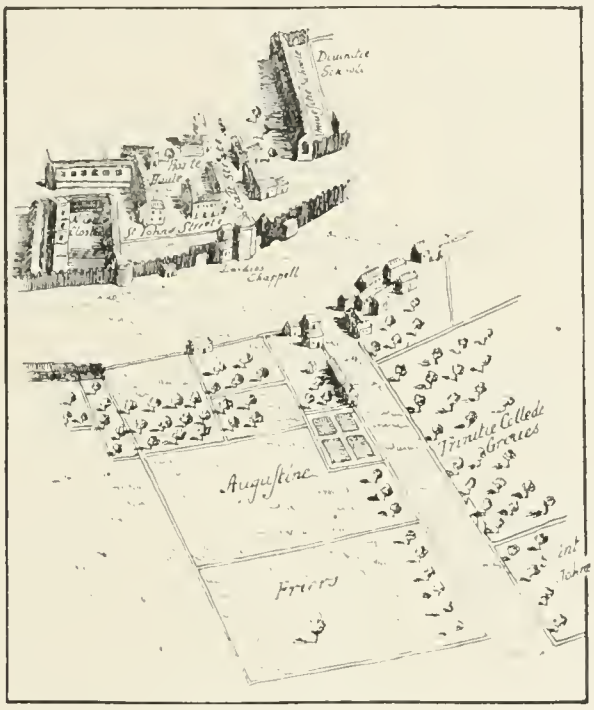
[2] William of Worcester, 'Itinerarium,' ed. Nasmyth, Cambridge, 1778, p. 282. His *gressus* is an uncertain dimension. It sometimes works out at twenty-four inches, and sometimes somewhat more. See article in *The Builder* of January 3, 1891, by Mr. H. W. Brewer.

[3] Wood, 'History,' vol. i. p. 662 (Gutch), and 'City of Oxford,' p. 472, note.

[4] v. Leases in the City Archives and others in the College Muniment room.

their lease to build them. These occupied the south and west frontages, the ground behind being 'groves,' orchards, and gardens. We know some of these buildings from old drawings. On the site of No. 10 staircase of the College, next the back gate southwards, was a gabled three-storeyed building with mullioned windows and debased heads under straight hood-moulds, dating evidently from the time of Elizabeth or James I[1]. It was retained and used for College rooms till 1801, when, being in a state of dilapidation, it was converted into a brewhouse and bakehouse. Southward of this, between it and the King's Arms, were three cottages

Old buildings on the site.



FROM AGAS'S MAP OF 1578.

which were sold to the University in 1796, to be repurchased some years later. One of them was a publichouse with the sign of the Lion over the door[2]. In 1610 these tenements and the site of the King's Arms and its yards and stables were held on lease for £10 a year by Alderman Bartholomew, who had in all thirteen tenements and 'voide ground,' and

Tenants on the site.

[1] v. Skelton's 'Oxon. Rest.' pl. 153. He calls it part of the Augustine friary, but the style of the building warrants no such antiquity.

[2] v. Skelton's plate above mentioned.

enjoyed the right of the ancient Austin fair. To the east of him along Holywell Street, reaching back to the line of the old wall which till lately bounded the College premises on the south, the land was let in narrow strips to Richard Clarke, a joiner, Thomas Key, whose trade is not named, and John Blythe, pewterer, whose plot marched with the property of Merton College. North of these holdings, the rest of the site of the Austin friars was let to Richard Kenner, butcher, whose land comprised the ground on which the College was afterwards built, and a 'grove' of two acres north of it, which was sublet to John Burroughes, a gardener. This grove included the area of the Fellows' garden, and the original garden of the Warden, exclusive of the extension subsequently made by purchase from Merton College[1]. The rental of the entire property, including all these holdings, was £27 14*s.* 4*d.*, and the existing leases had from twenty-four to thirty years to run.

Tenants on the site.

For this convenient site, outside the walls of the city but close to a postern gate, overtures were made to the municipal body early in the year $16\frac{0}{1}\frac{0}{0}$, by Mrs. Wadham and her co-Trustees. A Council was held on Feb. 23rd in that year, at which the citizens resolved to demand £1000 for the freehold. But within the succeeding fortnight a royal letter was brought to bear upon them, and they were induced to lower their terms[2].

Proposal to buy the site of Austin friars.

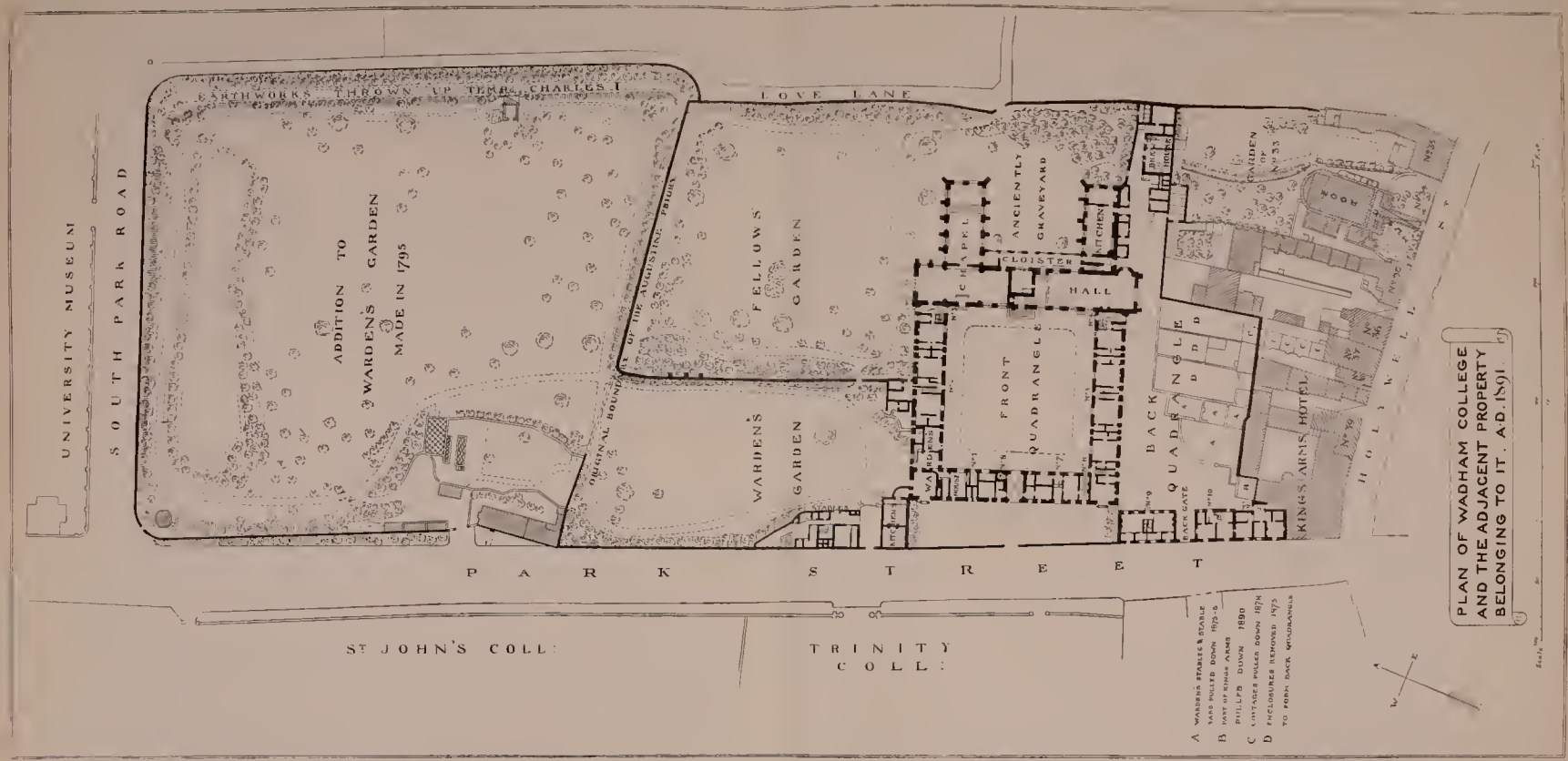
On the 6th of March another Council was held and a fresh decision arrived at. The minute runs as follows:—

> Conſil tent in Camă Guihald pđi
> ſexto die Martii Anno Regni Dñi nři Jacobi Rs
> Anglie nunc est octavo.
>
> It is agreed that whereas his ma^tie hathe written to this Cittie for the Augustin ffrieres to be ſold unto Mr. Wadhaṁs heires and that there are ſoṁ now coṁ to Deale with the Cittie for the ſame in the behaulfe of Mr. Wadham, yt is now thought good by this houſe, That Mr. Maior, Mr. Payne, Mr. Hannes, Mr. Stone, Mr. Potter and Mr. Wright ſhall conferr with thoſe agents to underſtande what they wilbe content to geve unto the Cittie for the ſame and to relate unto this houſe the effect of there Conference.

Resolution of the Town Council to sell.

[1] Besides these tenants Mary Ranken paid one shilling a year for a shop with a chamber over it, the position of which I cannot fix.

[2] May we see in this the influence of the white and pied nag bestowed on Henry Prince of Wales, and the silver cups given to the Lord Treasurer and others? v. *sup.* p. 15.


PLAN OF WADHAM COLLEGE
AND THE ADJACENT PROPERTY
BELONGING TO IT. A.D. 1891.
UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
SOUTH PARK ROAD
EARTHWORKS THROWN UP TEMP. CHARLES I
ADDITION TO WARDEN'S GARDEN MADE IN 1795
ORIGINAL BOUNDARY OF THE AUGUSTINE PRIORY
LOVE LANE
WARDEN'S GARDEN
FELLOWS' GARDEN
CHAPEL
ANCIENTLY GRAVEYARD
KITCHEN
CLOISTER
HALL
FRONT QUADRANGLE
BACK QUADRANGLE
BACK GATE
KINGS ARMS HOTEL
GARDEN OF No 33
HOLYWELL ST
PARK STREET
ST JOHN'S COLL:
TRINITY COLL:
A WARDEN'S STABLES & STABLE YARD PULLED DOWN 1875-6
B PART OF KINGS ARMS PULLED DOWN 1890
C CONTAGES PULLED DOWN 1874
D ENCLOSURES REMOVED 1875 TO FORM BACK QUADRANGLE

To face p. 22

M^m^ that att three of the Clocke in the afternoone of the ſame daye the ſayd pties appoynted for the Cittie to conferr with the ſayd agents for Mr. Wadhaṁ did relate that the ſayd agentes would geve but ſix hundred poundes, ther upon Mr. Mayor taking evr̃y voyſe by him ſelſe there were xxxj with Mr. Wadham that he ſhould have it for ſix hundred pounds yf they could gett no more but euerye man thought it too litle and there were xij voices agaynſt the grant of ſix hundred poundes.

SNOWE [1].

By way of some compensation for this concession, the City stipulated that when the College was constituted they might for that time and no more have the nomination and election of one Fellow and two Scholars. This was agreed to, and acted upon when the time came [2].

Purchase of site completed.

The matter being thus satisfactorily concluded, the deeds were handed over to Mr. John Arnold, the steward or agent of Mrs. Wadham, whose name has already been mentioned, and of whom we shall hear more hereafter.

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[1] Warden's MSS. No. 14.

[2] This agreement and the nominations by the City on parchment are preserved in the College Treasury.

ARMS OF NICHOLAS WADHAM

1. WADHAM. Gu., a chevron between 3 roses arg.

2. CHESILDON. Or, on a chevron gu. 3 martlets arg.

3. POPHAM. Arg., on a chief gu. 2 bucks' heads cabossed or.

4. ZOUCH. Gu., a chevron arg. between 9 bezants.

5. ST. MARTIN. Sa., 6 lions rampant or.

6. NEVILE. Arg., a chief indented vert, over all a bend gu. Wood makes the chief azure and assigns the coat wrongly.)

7. WALROND. Barry of 6 or and az., over all an eagle displayed gu.

8. LORTY. Per pale wavy az. and arg., a lion rampant or and gu. (On tomb per pale *not* wavy—others variously.)

9. READE. Gu., a bend fusilly ermine.

10. TREGARTHIN. Arg., a chevron between 3 escallops sa.

11. HENDOWER. Az., a lion rampant between 6 escallops or.

12. PLANTAGENET of Court in Brannel, Cornwall. Arg., a lion ramp. gu., ducally crowned or, within a bordure sa. bezanty. A label of 3 points az. (Others omit the crown and label. On tomb bordure is engrailed.

13. CHAMBERLAIN. Arg., on a bend sa. 5 bezants. (On tomb 3 bezants.)

14. PEVER. Arg., on a chevron gu. 3 fleurs de lys or.

PEDIGREE OF TREGARTHEN OR TREGARTHIN

(From Visitations, Pole, Polwhele, Burke, Gilbert, Rogers, and Pedigrees of Codrington and Lyte families.)

King John, 1199—1216.

1. King Henry III, 1216—1272.

King Edward I, 1272—1307.

Elizabeth Plantagenet, youngest of five daughters. = Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex.

Hugh Courtenay, 2nd Earl of Devon, d. 1377. = Margaret.

3rd son Edward, died before his father. = Emmeline, heiress of Dawnay.

Edward, 3rd Earl.

Hugh, 4th Earl.

3rd wife, Maud, da. of Sir John Beaumont. = Sir Hugh Courtenay, of Haccomb.

Margaret, d. and coh. of Thomas Carminow, of Carminow. = Sir Hugh Courtenay of Boconnock, M.P. for Cornwall; fell at Tewkesbury, 1471.

Sir Edward Courtenay, created Earl of Devon, 1485, by Henry VII, after battle of Bosworth, d. 1509.

Elizabeth Courtenay. = Sir John Trethurffe of Trethurffe, co. Cornwall.

Thomas Trethurffe, left 2 daughters.

Jane = John Tregarthin, s. and h. of Court in Brannel.

Diggory Grenville of Penheale. = 1. Mary.

2. Jane = Tripcony.

3. Margaret = Geo. Tanner, of Collumpton, Esq., who inherited Court in Brannel.

John Kellaway, of Collumpton. = 4. Joan Tregarthin, da. and coh. = 2. John Wadham.

See Pedigree of Wadham.

George Kellaway, o. s. p.

Florence = Richd. Grenville.

Anne = Wm. Harland.

Mary = Wm. Cooke.

Mary the younger. = Thomas Codrington.

Agnes = Henry Lyte, of Lyte's Cary, ob. 1607, æt. 78.

2. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, el. King of the Romans, 1256; d. 1271.

Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, ob. s. p., 1300.

Richard de Cornwall, illegitimate son by Joan, 2nd da. and co-h. of Richard de Valletort, widow of Sir Alex. Oakeston (concubine of Richard Plantagenet), made Lord of Court in Brannel, Cornwall, by his father.

Joanna, illegitimate da. by the same, = Richard Champernowne.

Walter de Cornwall or Plantagenet. ? William. (Gilbert's History of Cornwall).

Geoffrey de Cornwall, Knighted by Edward I, ancestor of the Cornwalls of Burford in Shropshire.

William de Cornwall (omitted by Polwhele).

John de Cornwall, M.P. for Truro, 6th Ed. III. = Margery, da. of Sir John Tregago of Fentongollan, co. Cornwall.

David de Hendower, or Hendure, of Hendure, in N. Wales. = Margery de Cornwall (called Isabel in Visit.), or Plantagenet, only d. and h.

David de Hendower, s. and h. = * *

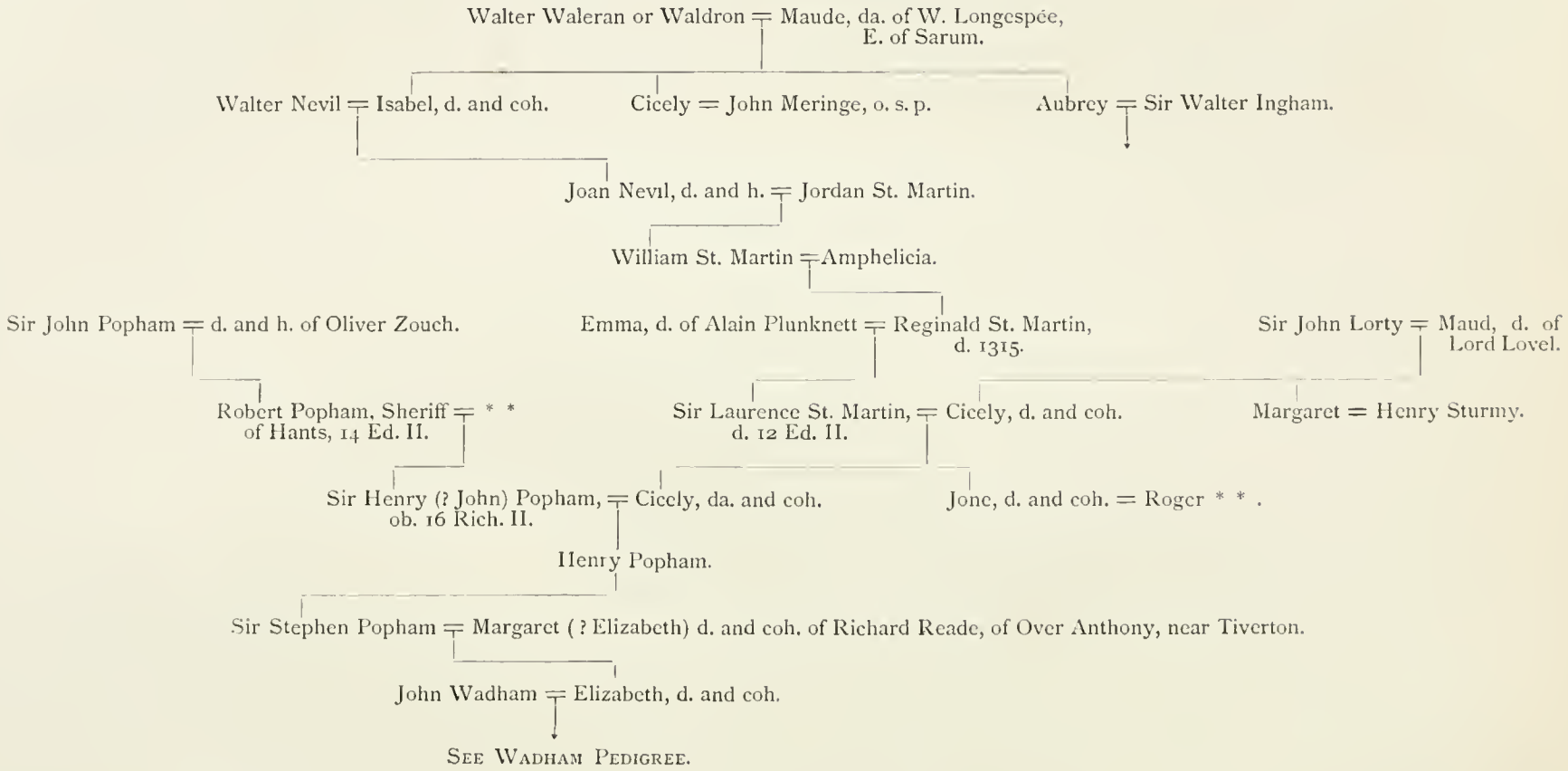
Richard (? Thos.) de Hendower, s. and h. = Katherine, d. and h. of John Chamberlayne, by the heiress of Pever.

Thomas Tregarthin, of Tregarthin, Esq., Sheriff of Cornwall, 1492; M.P. for Liskeard, 27th Hen. VI; died at Court in Brannel. = Margaret, only d. and h. of Court in Brannel, &c.

Margaret = Richard Whiteleigh, of Efford, Co. Devon, Esq., Sheriff, 1501.

Catherine = John Carminow, of Fentongollan, Sheriff of Cornwall, 1514.

PEDIGREE OF ELIZABETH POPHAM.



PEDIGREE OF WADHAM.

[From Visitations, Pole, Hutchins, Polwhele, Burke, Rogers, Gilbert, Collins, Manning and Bray, Aubrey, Pedigrees of Founder's kin in possession of the College.]

Sir John Wadham, of Edge, Devon. c. 1360.

Sir John, Justice of Common Pleas, 1388–1397, still living in 1411–12. Buried at Branscombe, = Joan Wrothesley. Buried at Ilminster.

Sir William, d. 1452, buried at Ilminster. = Margaret, da. and co-h. of W. Cheselden.

Thomas, of Redworthy.

Margery = Sir John Stourton, created 1st Baron Stourton, died 1463.

Sir John, of Merifield. = Elizabeth, d. and co-h. of Stephen Popham.

Elizabeth = Stawel, of Collestone (Cothelestone).

Mary = W. Montacute, of Henligh, n. Crewkerne.

Lawrence, of Merifield. = Margaret, 3rd d. of Sir W. Hody, of Pillesdon; Chief Baron of the Exchequer (1486–1513).

William, of Catherstone. = Jane, d. and co-h. of William Payne, of Catherstone, Dorset.

1. da. of Cheyney, of Pine. = John Wadham, Knt. = 2. Elizabeth, da. of Hugh Stukeley.

Edward, of Pole Anthony, Tiverton.

Alice = Nicholas, son of Hugh Stukeley.

William, s. and h. = Elizabeth, da. and co-h. of Stephen Tyllof, of Tyllhouse, co. Devon.

1. Joan, da. of Robt. Hill, of Halfway, by Alice, da. of John Stourton, of Preston, Somerset, and relict of William Danbeny. = Sir Nicholas, of Merifield, Captain of the Isle of Wight, &c. Will proved Jan. 30, 1542. = 2. Margaret, sister of Sir John Seymour, Knt., and aunt of Queen Jane; buried at Carisbrooke. = 3. Isabell, d. of T. Baynam, of Gloucestershire and relict of Sir Giles Bridges. = 4. Joan, da. of Richard Lyte, widow of William Walton, of Barton. Will proved 1557; buried at Ilton.

William.

1. Mary, da. of John Farringdon, co. Devon. = John, s. and h. = 2. Elizabeth, da. of Cruse, of Cruse Morehard, co. Devon.

John, s. and h. buried at Whitchurch Canonicorum. = Margaret, d. of Nicholas Willoughby, of Turner's Piddle.

5 sons and 7 daughters.

Nicholas, o.s.p.; buried at Ilton, 1508.

Jane = Forster, of Badesley, Hants.

1. Laurence, o.s.p.

2. John, of Merifield and Edge. Will proved Mar. 15, 157⅔; buried at Ilminster. = Joan, da. and co-h. of John Tregarthin*, of Cornwall, Esq., and wid. of John Kellaway, of Collumpton, Esq.; d. 1583, buried at Branscombe.

3. Giles, of Barton, co. Somerset. = Agnes, da. of Clausey, of Barton.

Andrew, o.s.p.

Mary = Richard Chudleigh, of Ashdon.

Elizabeth = 1. Edw. Bampfield, 2. John Warr.

John, of Catherston, Captain of Sandesfoot Castle by Weymouth, d. 1584, buried at Whitchurch Canonicorum. His will mentions 3 sons and 2 daughters.

Margaret, da. of John Young. = Edward, of Mere, co. Somerset. Will proved Jan. 17, 161⅔. = Alice, da. of Carew, co. Devon.

Dorothy = Humphrey Worth.

NICHOLAS, of Merifield and Edge. Founder of Wadham College. Born 1532, married 1555, o.s.p. Oct. 20, 1609. Ætat. 77. Buried at Ilminster. = Dorothy, da. of Sir Wm. Petre, Knt., of Ingatestone, Essex, by his first wife, Gertrude, da. of Sir John Tirrell; died at Edge, 16 May, 1618, ætat 84, buried at Ilminster.

Joan = 1. Sir Giles Strangways. = 2. Sir John Young.

Margaret = Nicholas Martin, of Athelhampston, Dorset. He died before Nicholas Wadham.

Florence = 1. John Windham, Esq.; d. 1572. = 2. John Faringdon, Esq.

Sir John Strangeways.

George.

Nicholas.

Anne.

Elizabeth.

Robert.

Jane.

Margaret.

Sir John Windham, sole heir. = Joan, da. of Henry Portman, Esq.

John, eldest son, ancestor of the Earls of Egremont. Extinct 1845.

3rd William, ancestor of the statesman, Wm. Wyndham.

Barbara, da. of Sir George Clarke. = Sir Wadham Wyndham, their 9th son, one of the Judges of the King's Bench.

Henry = Eliz. Brune.

Frances = Thos. White, of Fittleford, co. Dorset.

Jane = Hen. Tichborne.

Anne = Anthony Floyer.

Katherine. = Sir Thomas Hamon, of Brasted, Kent.

John Windham.

William, ancestor of the Wyndhams of Dinton, Wilts, who now represent the family of Wyndham.

Anthony, and others.

Brigetta, da. of Sir Edw. Seymour, Bart. = Sir John Brune, of Athelhampston.

John Latton, of Kingston Bagpuize, co. Berks. = Katherine, d. and co-h.

3rd son, Thomas, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1727. Created Lord Wyndham, 1731; o.s.p. 1745.

Mary, da. of Will. Ayscough, co. Lincoln. = Thomas Latton, of Kingston Bagpuize.

John Latton, Esq., of Esher; d. 1727, æt. 84.

* This spelling is taken from the tomb at Branscomb, but I have since learned that the more proper spelling is Tregarthen.—T. G. J

CHAPTER II

THE BUILDING ACCOUNTS. THE ARCHITECT.

Building begun at once, A.D. 1610.

One of the conditions exacted by the City was that the College should be built within the next five years[1], and no time was lost in setting to work. Within a month from the completion of the purchase a large staff of workmen was engaged, and quarries were opened; and before the end of May the haulage of stone began, and building operations were started in good earnest.

Building accounts.

The history of the work is made doubly interesting by the good fortune which has preserved to us a copy of the whole of the building accounts from the beginning in April 1610 to the completion in July 1613. It is an additional piece of good fortune for our purpose that the work was done not by contract but by day work, the employers buying the materials and hiring the labour. We find therefore every item of stone, wood, or metal, entered and priced, and every workman's name recorded with his weekly wages; and as the building has been very little altered, we can identify almost every particular and trace the progress of the building from week to week with something like certainty.

The account book.

The book in which these accounts are preserved has been carefully treasured in the College archives. It is a folio volume bound in limp vellum tied with faded silk ribands, and made of excellent paper. The handwriting, though more careful in one page than another, and generally better earlier in the book than later, seems to be that of the same person throughout. At one point[2] there is a marginal note '*Coverston's accounts ended*,' as if a new pay clerk were then appointed, but there is

[1] Warden's MSS., No. 15.

[2] Building Accounts, fol. lxxxv. June 15, 1611.

no corresponding change in the handwriting. It seems therefore most likely that the book is a transcript of all the weekly bills, made either periodically or at the end of the work, by some person in authority who directed the progress and controlled the expense. In all probability the writer was the Mr. John Arnold who has been before referred to, the steward and factotum of Nicholas Wadham, and after his death of Mrs. Wadham, who had been joined with her in the trust, and had been her agent in the purchase of the site. He lived at her seat of Edge, near Branscombe in Devon, whence he dates several letters written to the Warden on his mistress' behalf. His services to Mr. Wadham were recognized in his will by an annuity of £20 a year, and two of his kinsmen were appointed to Scholarships by the Foundress when the College was first constituted. In 1617 she directed that they should have the two next vacant Fellowships, and her recognition of Arnold's services did not stop there, for by her will Mrs. Wadham bequeathed all her furniture and plate to John Arnold, gent., 'her faithful servant,' and appointed him her testamentary executor[1]. Arnold writes to the Warden on a footing of equality, and was of the condition of a gentleman, and bore arms[2]. The probability that he kept the book and made the entries is increased by his use of the word '*plows*' to mean teams of oxen, which would be natural only in a Somersetshire man.

Mr. John Arnold.

ARMS OF MR. JOHN ARNOLD.

The accounts begin on April 9, 1610, the first entry being an agreement with twenty-nine workmen, of whom twenty-seven received from 3*s.* to 4*s.* each, and in one case 5*s.* '*for his coming to Oxford.*' Of these the greater number, certainly eighteen, are proved by subsequent entries in the weekly sheets to have been masons or 'layers.' Their journey took them three days, and in all likelihood they were Somersetshire men sent up from the neighbourhood of

Masons brought up from Somerset.

[1] The original will is lodged in the College muniment room. A memorandum attached directs that copies be made for the Registries.

[2] v. Seal attached to his letter of April 25, 1617 (College archives). The bearings on his coat resemble, with differences, those still borne by more than one family of the same name. He is referred to by name three times in the account book: September 23–28, 1611; November 15–21, 1612; and March 22–27, 161$\frac{2}{3}$.

the Wadhams' seat near Ilminster. The writer stands them '*xii pence in beare when I agreed with them.*'

Reasons for importing masons to Oxford.

The fine architecture in which Somersetshire abounds testifies to the high skill to which the local masons had attained, as indeed the local masons always did during the middle ages in those districts where good freestone was dug as it is in Somerset. But Oxfordshire also is a stone country, and contains almost as many and as fine architectural works as Somersetshire. Why then should the builders of Wadham College have thought it necessary to import their masons from such a distance? Their mistrust of local resources went even further, for they took the trouble to send up teams of oxen all the way from Somersetshire, for the haulage of the stone and other materials. This was found before long to have been a mistake, and the oxen were sent home again; but the Somersetshire masons, or at all events some of them, stayed on the work pretty nearly till the end, and some of them went home and came back again during the progress of the building, as if they could not be dispensed with. Something may no doubt be due to the partiality of Mr. John Arnold and his colleagues for their native county, but there must have been other reasons than that, and possibly the local workmen may have been all engaged on Sir Thomas Bodley's new Library and the new quadrangle of Merton, which were begun in the same year as Wadham[1].

'Plows' of oxen brought from Somerset.

Among the earliest entries is the note of expenses of John Clay, a servant of Mrs. Wadham, in bringing up the 'plows' of oxen from Merifield to Oxford. In Somersetshire to this day the word 'plough' signifies the team that draws it, and not the instrument itself, which is called the '*zull*,' a word which one might think more appropriate to the furrow made by it[2]. The 'plowmen' were four in number, and so no

[1] The dearth of masons in Oxford at this time interrupted the works at Merton College for eighteen months: v. MS. Regist. Merton College, 'cui ceſſationi occasio data ẽ quod fabri deeſſent p̃ aliquod temporis spatium quos ad tantũ ædificiũ costruendũ ſufficere arbitrabamur.'

[2] I am indebted to Mrs. Godfrey Thring, of Hornblotton, for the following bit of modern Somerset;—'*Charley, he were vlung in ditch but no one waarn't hurted; 'twere Varmer Mowdy's* (Moody's) *plough runned away, and 'twere farch'nate they hadn't a hitched on the zull.*' White Kennet says 'in Wiltshire the *aratrum* is now (1695) called a *sullow*, and the word plough is there attributed to any other waggon or carriage;' Glossary at end of 'Paroch. Ant.'

doubt were the teams. They halted for the night at Yeovil (*Evill*), Meere, Amesbury, Hungerford, and Abingdon, reaching Oxford on the sixth day. We have their payments for soap to grease the wheels, for supper and breakfast, beer at midday, a dram of aqua vitæ to restore one of the 'plowmen,' and their fees to tapster and chamberlain, but nothing for lodging. Travellers of their sort to this day, at the roadside inns in Somerset, sleep on a shake down in a common loft without any additional charge for the accommodation.

During April and May quarries were opened, and stone dug and hauled to the site in considerable quantities, both by the '*plows*' and by local carters, of whom there seems from the first never to have been any lack. A personage described as the Head Workman appears on the scene about the middle of April, who draws a salary of £1 a week, and whose name we find out in the next entry to be William Arnold. This suggests the enquiry who it was that designed the building and filled the part that would now be taken by the Architect.

The head workman, William Arnold.

It has often been supposed that the Architect of Wadham College was Thomas Holt of York. Holt is a mysterious personage whose name does not appear in any of the papers connected with the building of the Public Schools, but who was styled Architect of that building in his epitaph in Holywell Churchyard, where he was buried in 1624. The epitaph itself has disappeared, but is recorded by Wood[1]. On the strength of a certain resemblance in style to the Schools, the inner quadrangle of Merton and Wadham College have also been attributed to Holt. The registers of Merton, however, only mention Holt as contractor for the carpenter's work, the masonry being contracted for with John Acroyde. And though it is true that a Thomas Holt did work on Wadham College, he appears only as a carpenter engaged on the roofs of the Hall and Library, and does not appear at all till Aug. 1611, when three sides of the quadrangle were practically finished. It is plain that even if he were the same person who afterwards gave the design for the Schools quadrangle, which was begun just as Wadham was completed, he could have had no influence on that of the earlier building. We must look for the architect elsewhere.

Thomas Holt.

[1] Peshall's 'Wood,' app. 25.

The accounts are so complete, and are so clearly intended to show all expenses connected with the building, not only for erecting it, but also for providing the College plate, writing the Statutes, and furnishing the kitchen with cooking utensils, that so obvious and important an item as the payment of the architect for his design and superintendence cannot have been left out. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary it seems clear that the real architect was this William Arnoll or Arnold, the head workman, who from the name may perhaps have been a relation of Mr. John Arnold. This is in fact quite in accordance with the history of architecture during the middle ages. The professional architect, as we have him, did not come into being till about the time when Wadham was being built. Before then the architect who sat at a distance in an office drawing plans and never putting his own hands to the work was unknown. The real architect of the great buildings of the middle ages, to whom was entrusted the technical execution of the ideas of the great laymen, churchmen, municipalities, or private persons who desired to build, was the 'head workman,' the master mason, the *Lapicida*,—architect and clerk of works in one,—who saw to the quarrying of the stone, gave the design, directed the workmen, set out the building, worked with his own hands on those parts which involved superior artistic skill, and resided the whole time, or the greater part of it, on the spot. Sometimes he was contractor as well as architect, and we see him engaging to complete the work for a certain sum, finding all materials and labour; sometimes he provides the labour and the employer finds the materials; at others he merely designs, superintends, and works on certain parts with his own hands. But in all cases, there we find him, stationed at the work, and often binding himself by an agreement not to undertake any other work without the consent of his employers until the one in hand is completed[1].

William Arnold the architect.

The architect in the middle ages.

This seems to have been the position of William Arnold with reference to our subject; and there is little doubt that he was practically the architect of the College who planned the whole, and directed the

William Arnold designer of the College.

[1] Numerous extracts from building contracts are given by Willis and Clark in their great work on Cambridge. Mr. Street gives several in his book on Spain. Others will be found in my 'Dalmatia, the Quarnero, and Istria.' Among these will be found examples of all the conditions between architect and employer above referred to.

workmen in every detail, with perhaps a few exceptions to be noted by and bye. From the middle of April, 1610, he begins to draw his salary, although no actual building was begun for some weeks afterwards. Thenceforward he heads the list of workmen in the weekly sheets, sometimes dignified as *Mr.* William Arnoll, sometimes as plain William Arnoll or Arnold, and he draws £1 a week till October 19, 1611, when his wages fall to 10*s.*, and so continue till June 20, 1612, after which we hear no more of him. During all this time we find mention of Mr. W. Arnold's men, freemasons, that is workers of freestone, like himself; who wrought by piecework, and on whose work he of course made a profit, working himself also no doubt as a master-mason when he had time for it[1]. His weekly wages therefore of £1 at first and 10*s.* afterwards were given solely for superintendence and design, over and above what he might make by the actual handiwork of himself and his men: and it should be observed that £1 a week representing about £5 of our money is handsome pay, far beyond what an ordinary clerk of works receives, implying that William Arnold must have been a craftsman of very superior attainments, capable not only of superintending the work but of giving the architectural design.

W. Arnold employed also as a mason.

His salary as architect.

From the weekly sheets we gather that William Arnold's three men were Edmond Arnold, Thomas Arnold, and Richard Cornish; and when William Arnold retired from the work in June, 1612, we find that Edmond Arnold, no doubt a son or brother, succeeded him, and received 10*s.* a week until the following November[2]. During this time he and his men receive payment for masons' work, so that his weekly salary of 10*s.* is clearly for superintendence and design, like that paid to his predecessor. The last payment of his salary is on November 28, 1612; but after that we still find him paid for masonry such as pinnacles, evidently the work of more than one pair of hands; from which we gather that he and his staff of masons continued at work till December

Edmond Arnold.

[1] The history of the buildings at Clare College, Cambridge, 1683–7, is very similar to this; v. Willis and Clark, i. 106. William Grumbold was paid 20*s.* a week for supervising the workmen. He received 50*s.* for looking after the foundation and drawing a design for the building. He was also paid for working and setting various pieces of masonry, showing he worked as a mason like William Arnold besides designing and superintending the work.

[2] Building Accounts, June 30–July 4, 1612; and November 22–28, 1612.

19, when he received full payment for the pinnacles, and thenceforward he disappears from the accounts[1]. By this time the building was so far advanced that a superintending master-workman was thought unnecessary, though perhaps some sort of supervision was given by John Blackshaw, a skilled mason, and the carver of the statues of the King, the Founder, and the Foundress, over the Hall door, to whom £2 is given by Mr. John Arnold 'for his care in the work[2],' twelve weeks after the cessation of the 10*s.* a week salary to Edmond Arnold. John Blackshaw.

There is no trace of any drawings or plans having been made. In a simple straightforward building such as this, and with a resident architect or director of the works on the spot, very few drawings would be absolutely necessary. As the work was done without a contract, there was not the same occasion for a specification or plan as when a contractor engaged to build a certain building for a certain sum. But even in the case of such a contract no definite plans drawn to scale in our modern way would have been attached to the agreement. It was thought quite enough to bind the contractor to build so many sets of rooms of such a size from front to back, and such a height from floor to floor, with so many doors and windows, and walls of such a thickness and of such materials. To this rough specification was sometimes attached a rough model in clay or plaster, or more often a rough sketch of the simplest kind, amounting to no more than a rude diagram of no practical use whatever as a working drawing for the builders, but serving to explain and illustrate in a rudimentary way the accompanying specification[3]. The workmen at Wadham College were probably directed by word of mouth; the building was no doubt set out on the ground full size, instead of on paper to scale; the heights would be marked by the head workman for the masons on staff-rods; and very likely there never were any drawings at all, but such slight sketches with figured dimensions as the Plans.

[1] Building Accounts, December 13–19, 1612; Ed. Arnoll in full payment—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
for the pinnacles	7	0	0
for measuring of ſtone and panelling tun-ſtuffe		12	0

[2] v. Building Accounts, Mar. 22–27, 161$\frac{2}{3}$.

[3] See the contract of St. John's College, Cambridge, with Ralph Symons in 1598 for the second court, and the facsimile of his drawing attached to the agreement; Willis and Clark, ii. 250–257. Also that for the new building at Emmanuel College in 1638–43; ib. ii. 687.

head workman would naturally make for his own use by way of fixing the ideas he had in his head. It would be perfectly easy for a resident architect at the present day to design and build an equally important building, and even a much more elaborate one than this, without any drawings whatever, and it was without drawings that all the great buildings of the middle ages were carried out. This serves to explain the very trifling sums which we find paid occasionally to the superintending architect for drawing a design. Such a design did not amount to a working drawing, it was only an explanatory sketch : the real design never existed at all on paper, but only in the intention of the designer, who being always on the spot explained to the workman at every step in the work how to proceed.

CHAPTER III

THE WORKMEN AND MATERIALS.

THE accounts for labour and materials are kept distinct, the latter in all cases, whether stone, timber, slates, boards, lime, or hair, being bought in the rough on the Foundress' account and carried to Oxford at her expense, excepting only the ironwork, which was paid for by weight at so much the pound inclusive of both metal and work [1]. Labour and carriage.

As to the labour, it was done partly by piece-work, and partly by day-work. At first starting every workman was paid as a journeyman, but as early as June 30 in the first year, 1610, the masonry began to be done by piece-work, and continued so till the following March, with the exception that John Blackshaw, the carver, was paid by the day. After that time a considerable number of masons are paid weekly as journeymen, but the more important moulded work continued to be done by piece-work, and each weekly account thenceforth contains payments to '*Freemasons to taſke*,' that is by the piece, as well as '*Freemasons by the daye.*' Under the former heading are enumerated the quantities of the work so done, which are priced by a schedule. Periodically there was a sort of general measuring up and adjusting and settling of accounts, as for instance on November 29, 1611, after which the accounts are continued under the same two heads of day-work and piece-work as before. Masonry by piece-work. Masonry by day-work.

With the *layers*, who seem to have been not merely wallers but also what we should call 'setters' of masonry, some of them being also masons and working occasionally as such, the rule was different. For the first ten months or so they worked as journeymen, receiving like the masons Layers.

[1] Now and then a special note occurs 'for working our owne Iron.'

1*s.* 4*d.* a day. But from March $16\frac{1}{7}\frac{0}{7}$ forward they were paid on a new plan by the piece, at first at so much a perch, and afterwards by instalments on a running account which was periodically measured up and rectified. The plasterers and slaters were paid in the same way. The carpenters also were paid almost entirely by piece-work, only odd jobs, sawing and squaring of timber, and small works, being done by day-work. The principal carpenters kept a running account for the Chapel roof, the Hall roof, the Library roof, and so on, for which they received periodical advances, and also for the bays, or floors, and partitions, for which they were paid on a schedule at so much apiece.

Plasterers and slaters.

Carpenters.

Piece-work by gangs.

With regard to the piece-work, it seems to have been taken by small master-men, who besides working themselves employed gangs of workmen under them, although at times these master-men worked at day wages also themselves. Thus we hear of Mr. William Arnold's three men above referred to, who would be paid day-wages by him, while he charged the work he and they jointly turned out as piece-work, according to a fixed schedule which left him a margin of profit[1]. In the same way we find Loddon the chief of the layers receiving payment for sixteen men who dug the foundation of the kitchen, and he as well as the two or three other layers who are mentioned must each have employed a considerable number of workmen on the walls for which he was paid by measurement. With the carpenters it was the same, and so with the other trades. This system has the advantage of making one head workman responsible for each subdivision of the work, while it has none of the evils of subcontracting, because each head workman deals directly with the employer, and not through a contractor. How it fared with the journeymen workmen, and whether they were as well paid in this way as if they had been hired and paid direct by the employer, there is of course nothing to tell us.

ACCOUNT FOR MATERIALS.

Stone.

The stone cost 1*s.* 4*d.* a cart-load[2] in carriage from the quarry to the site, and was dug probably at Headington or Shotover. Though, like

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[1] We also hear of Henry Chaffy and his man, Hugh French and his man, and Peter Plomer a mason and his company. Building Accounts, April 9, 1610; July 8–13, 1611.

[2] A cart-load was reckoned at a ton or a little more; a plow-load at about twice as much.

all the stone from those quarries which was used in Oxford, it has suffered a good deal from decay, it seems to have been got from a harder bed than usual, and has stood much better than that of which many later buildings, as for instance Oriel College, were constructed. Some stone was bought ready dug, but for the most part it was dug by the College, and hauled at their expense. There are constantly payments for 'ridding' or baring quarries, and for ending them; also purchases of sledge-hammers and wedges for getting the stone, and 'Rawses' for drawing it out of the quarry. Among the early entries is a payment to Hughit's mother for ground of quarry. Later on is a payment to Hughit for spoiling his land. An acre is hired from Thomas for 20*s.* to make a quarry. A quarterly rent of £3. 15*s.* is paid to Mr. George Brome for his quarry, from Aug. 18, 1610, at all events till Oct. 1612[1]. Magdalen College seems also to have allowed stone to be dug gratuitously on land belonging to them, no payment for royalty being recorded, but on Dec. 22, 1610, a present of books to the value of £20 is made to that College '*for there q^a^rryes*[2].' Stone, however, continued to be got from Magdalen pit after that date, so that this did not close the transaction. For what services a somewhat shabby present of 4*s.* in wine was given to Trinity College, '*by way of gratuity for the Grove*,' in Aug. 1611, we are not further informed[3]; perhaps sand was dug there; perhaps it was used for stacking materials, or for framing the roofs. As we shall see, no vacant ground was at first attached to the College; all the property except what was occupied by the new building being let off almost as soon as it was bought. But besides what the builders themselves dug, a large quantity of both freestone and wall stone[4], especially the former, was bought from quarrymen, of whom Chillingworth or Shillingworth and Smedmore are most frequently mentioned. This stone

Quarries opened.

Present to Magdalen College.

Present to Trinity College.

Stone bought.

[1] See accounts for the Merton building. Mr. Brome was Lord of the Manor of Headington.

[2] Building Accounts.

[3] Building Accounts. The President of Trinity tells me no record of any transaction regarding the Grove is preserved in that College.

[4] The walling, or rubble stone, is called variously wale-stone, or rag-stone, and after August, 1611, burr or bur-stone, a name which is not used till then. Bur is still a west-country name for rubble stone.

would be ready dug, and had to be carted to the site at the cost of the building account. Other kinds of stone also were got for special purposes: Ensham stone for steps; Burford stone for crests or ridge stones, and for the statues [1].

Water carriage.

Water carriage was largely employed, for though before the days of locks and weirs the Thames may not have been always easily navigable so high up, it probably presented fewer difficulties even at its lowest than the bad roads of the seventeenth century. Stone from Burford and timber from Cumnor wood were brought by water to Oxford and

'High bridge.'

landed at Hithe bridge, or High bridge as it was generally called, where, as the name implies, there was wharfage accommodation. There was no road thence to the College, and the haulage of the stone from High bridge [2] to the site, the length merely of what are now George Street and Broad Street, cost half as much as the cartage from the quarries on Headington or Shotover Hill.

Oak timber.

The timber,—oak throughout,—was bought standing in Cumnor wood, belonging to Lord Norris, the ancestor of the Earls of Abingdon. The oaks were paid for at so much apiece, not by the cubic foot as at the present day, and generally an instalment was paid to the steward of the estate as earnest money. The trees were felled at 6*d.* or 8*d.* apiece, according to their size, and hauled to the water side at the cost of from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* for a load of 50 cub. ft., whence the water carriage to Oxford cost 2*s.* 1*d.* or 2*s.* 2*d.* a boat-load.

[1] Burford and Taynton are close together and the stone is identical. Blackshaw the mason and his son went to Burford to work the stone in January $16\frac{11}{12}$. It is probably the same as the *burbet* stone, got for the king's picture in March $16\frac{10}{11}$. Building Accounts, fol. lxii, cxxxviii.

[2] Hithe bridge is that crossed on the way to the railway station down George Street. In Agas's map of 1578 it is called 'Highe Bridge,' and between it and the town walls intervenes a space of open ground called Broken Hayes, without any regular road across it. Wood ('City of Oxford,' p. 363) says a lane was formed in 1641. In Loggan's map of 1675 the bridge is united to the end of Broad Street by a lane between straggling cottages and garden walls. Among them is the row of houses still existing with the picturesque terrace and steps in front, in the wall of which is the stone recording that '*this wall was made and the wayes pitched in the mayrolty of S^r. Sampson White, K^t., Anno Dom.* 1667.' In Williams's map of 1773 this lane is dignified with a name,—George Lane or Thames Street,—but the irregularly spaced houses between which it runs do not even yet quite reach 'High bridge' at its lower end. There is a view of 'High-bridge' in its old state as rebuilt by Thomas de Cudlington, Abbot of Oseney, in Skelton, vol. ii. plate 110.

Timber felled in summer.

The first purchase of timber was in Aug. 1610, five months after the beginning of the work, when 300 oaks are bought of 'the Lord Norrice,' and earnest paid for 200 more. The felling and carriage to Oxford begins at once, and workmen are set to saw and square it.

Payments to carpenters for working up the timber appear on Dec. 15, 1610, when the framing of bays and partitions begins. This timber, be it remembered, had only been cut four months before, and was felled in August, too soon for the sap to have begun to descend. Felling goes on, through March, April, and June, 1611, and the following March, with carriage from the wood to the water, or latterly to the mill, thence by boat to High Bridge, whence timber is carted to the College by Alexander Hill at *1s.* a load.

Elm timber.

The same indifference to the proper season for felling is shown in the case of elms. In July 1612 some elms are bought of Mr. Brome, the same person no doubt from whom a quarry was hired, and they are straightway cut and carried to the College.

Timber used green and unseasoned.

It is contrary to all our ideas of good carpentry to work up summer-felled timber into a building within four months from the time when it was a growing tree, full of sap, as must have been the case with most of that in Wadham College. The good preservation in which it remains to the present day must be due to the fact that little or none of it was so covered up as to be inaccessible to the circulation of air, and to the opportunity it consequently had of seasoning after it was wrought and fixed, though this implies an indifference to warping and splitting which would horrify a modern carpenter or joiner who knew his business.

Lime.

With regard to the other materials, the lime was generally brought from Brill or elsewhere. But at one time they seem to have burned their own. In March $16\frac{10}{11}$, and afterwards, we find payments to Arthur Young, lime burner; in April of the same year a shovel is bought for him, and in Aug. 1611, a '*shovell for the kill.*'

Slates and slater.

The slates,—stone slates,—were bought in the county, some at Burford, most of them probably at Stonesfield, and the slater is paid by a running account. There are charges for slate-pins, for holing the slates, and for moss in which the slates were bedded, as in some parts of England they are now-a-days in hay, for the purpose of excluding draughts and snow.

Sand.

There is no entry anywhere for sand. But the whole of Oxford stands on a bed of coarse gravelly sand, not to be surpassed as a material for mortar; and the old pits with which the ground is found to be honey-combed wherever it is opened at the present day within and around the city, and which make foundation work a very serious item in the cost of building at Oxford, show how very largely it was excavated for building purposes in former days[1]. No doubt the sand for making mortar at Wadham was dug on the spot, and a large quantity would have been supplied by the excavation for the cellar under the Hall, without specially digging for it.

[1] When digging the foundation of the New Examination Schools in High Street in 1876, the workmen found the whole area full of round pits sunk in the gravel varying from five to seven or eight feet deep, and sometimes more, and filled up with black mould. Mr. Edwards my clerk of works thought he had discovered an ancient British village, like that at Stanlake. When the whole of the mould was cleared out, the site appeared honey-combed with these pits, which were divided by thin walls of natural gravel, and were sometimes reached by steps rudely cut in the soil, and occasionally had a floor beaten or trodden hard. The theory of the British village, however, was not accepted by Professor Rolleston and other authorities, and further experience showed that these excavations existed in all parts far too extensively for such an explanation. They were found when digging for the new quadrangles at Trinity and Brasenose, one within and the other without the city walls, and also in the foundation of the City of Oxford's High School in George Street, situated on the site of the Old City ditch.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF THE BUILDING OPERATIONS.

A.D. 1610. Rapid progress of the building.

The whole building was begun, finished, and occupied within the comparatively short period of a little more than three years, which is quite as rapid a rate of progress as would be thought desirable at the present day, and contrasts very favourably with the slow growth of most great buildings during the middle ages. A large staff of men was kept on, and except during the first two winters, when building was stopped for some weeks by frost, there was no interruption to the work.

April and May.

April and May, 1610, were occupied in clearing the site, putting up sheds, and other preparations. Stone was hauled in large quantities during the latter part of May and June, sometimes over 150 loads being brought during the week. A large staff of masons got to work early in June, and towards the middle of the month we find labourers digging the trenches, and layers building the walls[1]. In July the first purchase of oaks in Cumnor Wood is recorded, and on the 31st of that month the first stone was laid, by which time no doubt considerable progress must have been made with the foundations.

July 31. Laying of the first stone.

Anthony à Wood gives an account of the ceremony, which seems to have been one of some splendour[2]. He says :—

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[1] Three of these layers, Leg, French, and Haykins,—the first two Somersetshire men,—had previously worked as masons. Fresh masons are taken on to replace them. There are other instances of men working occasionally at other crafts beside their own. John More the painter 'sets up buttresses' as a layer; Building Accounts, February 22–27, 161$\frac{2}{3}$; and Davis another painter is employed as a carpenter; Building Accounts, September 4, 1613.

'p^{d} *William Davis in full paym^{t} for paynting the Chapple and laying the library bayes* . . . . . 16 9 6'

[2] Wood, 'Colleges and Halls' (Gutch), p. 593. A contemporary allusion occurs in a letter from Christopher Trevelyan, a student at Oxford, to his father at Nettlecombe, dated 30 July, 1610, and conveyed by his cousin Zacherias Windam, who, he writes, '*hath promised*

A.D. 1610. All the ruinous buildings of the ſaid Fryery or Priory (which chiefly ſtood on the ſouth side of the College and ſouthward from it) being pulled down and levelled with the ground, the day for laying the firſt ſtone was appointed; which day (the laſt of July) appearing, the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, and others, met in St. Mary's Church; from whence going ſolemnly to the place where the ſtone was to be laid (there being then preſent Alderman Thomas Harrys, the Mayor of the City, with his brethren), certain ſinging men and Choriſters ſung Te Deum. Which being done, Dr. Ryves, Warden of New College, made an elegant Oration in praiſe of the work and its FOUNDERS. After he had concluded, a ſolemn Anthem was ſung, in the doing of which the firſt ſtone was laid in the eaſt part of the College, (where the Chapel was afterwards built) by the Vice-Chancellor and others, and monies offered thereon by them according to cuſtom.

July 31. In the accounts for this week we find that £6. 7*s.* 10*d.* was laid out for three barrels of beer, cakes, bisket, and prince bread, and for music, wine, and servitors employed on the occasion [1].

Chambers built first. The building was now pushed on in good earnest, but, as we gather from the accounts, not with equal haste in every part. Whether from doubt as to the sufficiency of means, or from the desire to occupy the College as soon as possible, the wing containing the kitchen and library was at first not begun at all; and though the foundations of the chapel must have been put in, because the first stone was laid in its eastern part, both chapel, antechapel, and hall were left down while the other three sides of the quadrangle containing the chambers were pushed on to completion with all possible expedition. Indeed, as we shall see in following out the history of the building, the three front wings were ready for roofing before the walls of the hall and chapel had reached the window cills, or the foundations of the kitchen were even dug.

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me that if he possibelly can, to deliver them with his owne handes, or otherwise trustely to convaye these our letters; if he make good his promise he will I doubte not, certifie you of the perticulars of the forwardness of our new Waddam College, whose first foundation stone will be layed on this next morning, which will be the last daye of July, with as much solemnity as the time will permitt, being as it is in the vacation, at what time the University is alwayes barest and most stripped of her company.' Trevelyan Papers (Camden Society, part 3, p. 113), cited by Rogers.

[1] Building Accounts, July 30–Aug. 14, 1610:—

	li.	d.
for 3 barrells of beere	1 4 0	
for cakes, bisket, and prince bread	1 1 10	
for musicke	2 0 0	vj vij. x
for wine	1 10 0	
for servitors	0 12 0	

A.D. 1610. As many as twenty-five carters were sometimes employed in hauling stone, and there being no difficulty about carriage of materials Mrs. Wadham's '*plows*' were sent back into Somersetshire in charge of John Clay and his three mates at the beginning of November[1].

Nov. 10. The 'plows' sent home.

From December 8th till the end of January building was suspended for the winter. The walls were now scaffold-high. Fir saplings are bought for scaffolding, and an acre of copse for making hurdles, which were used instead of planks for the workmen to move about on the scaffolds[2]. Thornton the head carpenter is at work framing the bays[3] and partitions, which shows that the walls were nearly ready for the first-floor timbers, which partly rest on the partitions.

December. First floor reached.

As was usual in similar buildings of that time, there are hardly any party walls across the building, the rooms and even the staircases being divided by 'quartering' partitions lathed and plastered on both sides.

A.D. 1611. Cartage of stone goes on through the winter, as many as thirty carters being employed in one week, and on January 21 building was resumed. Rapid progress was now made with the west, north, and south sides of the quadrangle; the chimneys are half finished by the middle of June, and at the same time the first purchase is recorded of slates and moss in which to lay them[4]. The mention of *gurget* or *gorgell* table, or corbel table as we should call the cornice with little modillions that surrounds the quadrangle just below the parapet, shows that by July the walls were plate-high and ready for the roofs on three sides of the quadrangle, while other entries prove that the fourth or east side containing the antechapel and hall was not yet up to the window cills, and that the kitchen foundations were only just being dug[5]. During the autumn the masons

June. Walls of chambers up to plate level.

Kitchen foundation dug.

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[1] Building Accounts, Nov. 5–10, 1610, '*pd. Jn. Clay for bringing downe the plowes* £4 0 0.'

[2] Twenty-four hurdles '*pro viis super dictam scaffottam.*' Westminster Rolls, cited from Smith's 'Antiq. of Westminster,' in 'Gleanings from Westminster Abbey,' G. G. Scott, p. 233.

[3] A bay of joists or roofing is the distance from girder to girder, or truss to truss; Gwilt, 1875, cited in Murray's 'Dict'

[4] On July 18, 1763, there is a resolution in 'Convention Book,' No. iii, '*that the slates of the Chapel roof hitherto laid in moss, but not keeping out the rain, be now laid in mortar.*'

[5] Building Accounts, July 22–27, 1611: '*John Loddon for* 16 *men digging the foundatiõ of ye citchen,* 16*s.* 6*d.* xvj^s vj^d.' The building of the kitchen seems to have been again put off till the following spring; v. Building Accounts, Feb. 24–29, 161½, '*for* 14 *men for laying the foundation of the citchen,* £1. 9*s.* 0*d.*'

A.D. 1611. September. Slating of chambers begun.

October. Plastering begun.

are busy with the parapet, battlements, and chimneys, and in September the slating of the roofs begins. At the end of that month the building was so far covered in that the interior work began. Medcalfe the plasterer was at work, and clay was bought to be used as is most likely for filling in the partitions[1]. At the end of November the globes which originally surmounted the apex of the gables were fixed, plumbers' work was paid for, and the carpenters were paid off for all 'bays' and partitions, beams and lintels to that date.

November. Outside work to three sides of quadrangle finished.

Hall windows begun by W. Arnold

The exterior shell of the three sides of the quadrangle being now finished, and his labours in superintendence diminished, William Arnold's weekly wages are reduced from £1 to 10*s*. He now began to work with his men on the eighteen windows, all of one pattern, which light the hall and antechapel, continuing, however, to superintend the work generally[2].

From the beginning of December till February 24, $16\frac{11}{12}$, no building went on, partly no doubt on account of the winter, and partly perhaps because of the backwardness of the masonry on the east side of the quadrangle.

A new mason had appeared on the scene in November, John Spicer, who worked at first with the rest on what happened to be going forward; but in January he began upon the windows of the choir of the chapel, completing the ten side windows in a little over two months, and the great east window in the following September[3].

The choir windows begun by John Spicer.

These eleven windows of the choir have sorely puzzled antiquaries, and John Spicer little thought what a pitfall he was digging for many an archæological reputation.

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[1] In a contract at Emmanuel College, 1638–40, I find '*all the partitions to be splented and clayed between the studds, and on the outside cast over with Lyme and Hayre on harte-lath, and the outside to be layd with lyme and hayre between the studds.*' Willis and Clark, vol. ii. Clay was sometimes used for forming the floors of the ground storey. At Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1539–40, there is a charge for taking out the clay and laying a wooden floor in the room of a Mr. Ashton. Willis and Clark, iii. 320. At Wadham, however, the ground floors seem to have been of wood; v. Building Accounts, May 10–15, 1613.

[2] William Arnold was paid for the first of these eighteen windows on Dec. 7, 1611, and for the last on May 2, 1612. He was paid for the bay window in the Hall on Feb. 29, $16\frac{11}{12}$, and received the last payment for the great end window of the Hall on June 13, 1612.

[3] Spicer was paid for the first two chapel windows on Feb. 1, $16\frac{11}{12}$, and for the last of the ten on April 11, 1612. The first payment for the east window is on May 31 following and the last on Sept. 5 in the same year.

At the end of February the kitchen wing was at last fairly started[1]. During the succeeding spring and summer the workmen were busy in every part of the College. In the chambers the flooring was laid, the walls and partitions plastered, doors hung, locks and bars fixed, and windows glazed. The account with the carpenters for this part of the building was closed in June[2], the chambers were made clean, and the three sides of the quadrangle were practically finished. The work in chapel and hall, kitchen and library went on steadily; Spicer had finished the ten side windows of the choir in March, and William Arnold completed all the windows of the hall and antechapel on June 13, when the bases of the great columns and responds of the arches in the antechapel and part of the columns themselves were also fixed. This completes William Arnold's work on the College, and we now finally take leave of him[3]. His 'man' Edmond or Edward Arnold takes his place. The mention of gargell table in July for the first time since November shows that the fourth side of the quadrangle had been brought up level with the rest, and at the same time Thornton, one of the head carpenters, begins work on the chapel roof, and two other carpenters, Thomas Holt and Tesely, on that of the hall. The last payment for the chapel roof is on October 17, by which time it must have been finished[4].

A.D. 1612. February. Building of kitchen started.

June. Three sides of quadrangle containing chambers finished.

June 13. William Arnold departs.

July. Chapel and Hall roof begun.

Meanwhile rapid progress was made with the kitchen wing, for the windows of the library over the kitchen were paid for in June, and Tesely and Holt began upon the roof in August. This block, the most backward, had consequently now nearly caught up the rest.

August. Library roof begun.

The last part of the building to be begun was the cloister which joins the chapel and kitchen wings behind the hall and antechapel, the windows and door-heads of which were not finished till November.

Cloister built.

With the exception of finishing the pinnacles and buttresses the only

[1] Building Accounts; see note 5, p. 45, supra.

[2] Building Accounts, June 21–27, 1612: '*pd. more for all the pticions in the* 4 *storyes and bay bords in the* 3 *storyes*, £11. 17*s.* 0*d.*'

[3] Building Accounts, June 14–20, 1612, for the last time, '*Wm. Arnoll's wags*, 10*s.*'

[4] The first mention of Thomas Holt, the carpenter, is in the account of Aug. 12–17, 1611: '*Tho. Holt*, 5 *dayes*, 7*s.* 6*d.*' One John Holt, a carpenter, appears as making the centre for the kitchen vault in Dec. 1612, and the following January. Thomas Holt appears subsequently as working on the Library. See as to Holt, above, p. 32.

A.D. 1612. important piece of masonry that was now left to do was the kitchen vault, which was completed by John Blackshaw, the mason and carver, about

November. Edmond Arnold departs. the middle of December[1]. The services of Edward Arnold as superintendent were no longer necessary, and had already been discontinued in November, although we find him still engaged on masonry by piece-work for a short time longer[2].

A.D. 1613. The bulk of the work now consisted in the interior fittings. Austin and Thornton are engaged from Jan. 16 till the following March in

Chapel ceiling and screens. '*batting*' or battening the chapel, by which is probably meant the boarded ceilings in cants below the rafters, collars, and braces, with which the chapel and antechapel were originally covered. John Bolton, described sometimes as a carver and sometimes as a 'joyner,' had already been some months at work on the fine oak screens of the hall and chapel, £40 having been paid him on account for the former in the preceding September. He did not, however, receive his payment in full for the two '*skrynes*' till the following June, so that it is not certain that the chapel screen was finished in time for the consecration[3].

The statues. In March the statues in the niches of the frontispiece over the hall door were finished by John Blackshaw, carver and mason, the same who constructed the vault over the kitchen; and he now disappears from the scene with a present of £2 given him by Mr. John Arnold for his care in the work[4].

March. The examiners. In the week ending March 27, is a charge of £7. 16*s.* 10*d.* for the Examiners' diet; from which it may be gathered that some of those who were joined with Mrs. Wadham in the trust, possibly Sir John Wyndham among them, visited the works now approaching completion,

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[1] Building Accounts, Dec. 13–19, 1612: '*Wm. Blackshaw in full paym^t for the cichen vault*, £7. 10*s.* 0*d.*'

[2] The last payment of salary to him is on Nov. 28.

[3] Building Accounts, Aug. 31–Sept. 5, 1612:—

'*Tho. Bolton in accompt for the Halle Skreene* . . . . . 40 0 0'

June 21–26, 1613: '*pd. John Bolton in full accompt for the 2 skrynes being 82^li this being the laft paym^t* . . . . . 9 10 0'

N.B. These payments to Bolton were of course for labour only.

[4] Building Accounts, Mar. 22–27, 161$\frac{3}{4}$. It is interesting to find no distinction between joinery and wood-carving, masonry and sculpture, except that of greater or less skill. At Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1435, the principal stone mason carves the Statue of King Edward. Willis and Clark, ii. 446.

to satisfy themselves of the progress of the building, and to arrange for the institution of the new Society and the consecration of the chapel. A.D. 1613.

The King's license had been obtained on Dec. 20, 1610, and the Foundress had already issued her Charter and Statutes on Aug. 16, 1612. The time had now come for the formal Institution of the Foundation, and the Foundress having before made her election of a Warden and the other members of the Society, they were admitted on April 20, 1613; the Warden by the Vice-Chancellor in the North chapel of St. Mary's Church, the Fellows by the Warden in the College Hall, and the Scholars by the Warden and Fellows in the same place[1]. They were all then sworn with the exception of three of the Scholars who were excused on account of their minority[2]. April 20. Institution of the Society.

On the 29th of the same month the chapel was consecrated, although it is evident it was not nearly finished, for the screens were incomplete, and the painters still at work. However, the consecration was a very grand function, and was accompanied with a prodigious deal of feasting, for the '*diet*' on the occasion cost no less a sum than £83. 15*s.* 0*d.*, which translated into modern money seems a most extravagant expenditure[3]. April 29. Consecration of the chapel.

> 'The consecration,' says Wood, 'I find was after this manner. The Heads of Houſes, and Doctors of the Univerſity, meeting Dr. John Bridges, Biſhop of Oxford, at his houſe or lodging near S^t^. Mary's Church, went with him to this College; where being received at the gate by the Warden and Fellows, was conducted to the Chapel (the muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental then founding.) and being ſettled in the Warden's place. Mr. James Harryngton, Fellow of the Houſe, made an Oration in Latin to the Biſhop and the Company; which being done, the ſaid Biſhop dedicated and conſecrated it to the memory of S^t^. Nicholas. Afterwards preaching a ſermon on the 22nd verſe of the 10th chapter of St. John, he conſecrated the Cloiſter and Cemetery joining to it on the ſouth ſide[4].'

One is tempted to try and revive the scene in imagination. Outside Smith gate, and the girdle of the town walls, which ran along the south side of what is now Broad Street, stood the new building among

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[1] Wood, 'Colleges and Halls,' pp. 593–595.

[2] Wood, 'Colleges and Halls,' p. 594. The three scholars were Potter, Boswell, and Hill. The Registers do not give their age but simply state '*propter ætatem nondum adultam dispensatum fuit*,' v. Gardiner's 'Regist. of Wadh. Coll.'

[3] Building Accounts, June 30–July 3, 1613.

[4] Wood, 'Colleges and Halls,' p. 602.

A.D. 1613. The Institution of the College.

open fields and meadows[1], shining in the virgin splendour of its yet unweathered masonry, the stone-tiled roofs being almost as white as the walls. Within, though the opening day was come, all was still bustle and confusion, for the impatience of the Founders could not wait till the workmen were out of the building. The quadrangle was not yet gravelled, the library was without its books, desks, or seats, and the hammering of the carpenters was probably only interrupted while the Warden, fresh from his own institution in Adam de Brome's Chapel at St. Mary's, admitted the Fellows and Scholars in the College Hall, where the plasterers were still busy finishing their work on walls and ceiling. Nine days later, on the Consecration day, things may have been a little better, though the workmen had still about two months' work before them. We can picture the Bishop in the quaint and prim episcopal dress of the time, accompanied by all the dignitaries of the University, being received at the Gate by the new Society, with Warden Wright, whose picture now hangs in the College Hall, at their head, and being conducted to the chapel in procession across the new-made quadrangle amid the sounding of music, both vocal and instrumental, and the ringing of church bells. Then came the adjournment to the Hall, and the stupendous feasting which followed, at which one would think the whole University must have assisted. One is not told who else was present, but we may assume that Sir John Wyndham and Sir John Strangways, nephews and coheirs of the Founder, were there, with Mr. John Arnold, on whom the greater part of the trouble connected with the building had fallen, and others whose names we have met with in the history of the Foundation. It is hardly likely that the venerable figure of the Foundress was to be seen among them; her seventy-nine years, and the long journey of three or four days over disastrous roads which separated Oxford from her home at Edge, no doubt placed her presence out of the question: but her heart must have

[1] '*A beautiful structure in the north-east part of the City, in a very healthful place adjoyning to the pleasant fields and meadows called New Parks.*' Prince's 'Worthies,' p. 750. Five-and-thirty years ago, in my undergraduate days, Wadham still stood out in the open fields with no houses beyond. 'The Parks' was then a rectangular space lying north and south and of no more than the width of Wadham Gardens. It used to be sown with wheat, and was enclosed by a hedge on two sides and surrounded by a wide path, round which we ran before breakfast when training for the boats, the distance being reckoned just a mile.

been that day in her new-built College, and we can imagine her eagerness A.D. 1613. to hear the account of the proceedings which John Arnold would bring down with him on his return to the West Country.

During the succeeding two months workmen were engaged in finishing off the various parts of the building. Thornton is paid off in full on May 14 for flooring the 'low rooms,' buttery, and chapel, but Medcalfe, the plasterer, is not dismissed till July 3, when his account is settled in full. Painting was going on in the chapel throughout June, and the glazier was not paid off till the 19th of that month 'for all his work to that day.' A week later John Bolton receives his last payment for the two screens in the hall and chapel, of which it is noted the total cost amounted to £82, a sum which is, of course, exclusive of material. There are numerous charges for fixing locks and bars and bolts, and almost last of all the accounts for the seats and desks in the Library. As far back as April 10 in this year is an entry of the purchase of '6 dozen of chains,' which would be for the purpose of attaching the books to the desks: on the 24th of the same month is a payment for bars and staples in the Library, no doubt for the same purpose: several more dozens of chains are bought during June, and finally on July 3 is an entry of £8. 15*s.* 6*d.* for carriage of books to Oxford, and 'waynemens diet,' referring probably to the Library which Dr. Bisse, D.D., Archdeacon of Taunton, gave to the new College. Among the last entries in the accounts are the utensils in the kitchen, the chapel bell, mats for the fifteen Fellows in the chapel, the scrivener's charge for writing the Statutes, silver plate to the value of £103 for the College, and £52. 8*s.* 2*d.* for the Warden, a stamp for marking the pewter plates and dishes, and finally a payment of £100 to the Bursars, given them by their Foundress, to start them in their office.

Flooring finished.

Plastering.

Glazing.

Screens.

Library fittings.

Dr. Bisse's library.

THE WARDEN'S SEAL.

CHAPTER V

THE STATUTES.

THE COMMON SEAL.

The Statutes.

THE building being now ready for use, it is time to say something of those who were to use it, and of the code of laws by which they were to be governed. The Statutes are copied, often word for word, from those of older colleges as far back even as the time of Wykeham, whose Statutes for New College served as a model for the codes of succeeding colleges, just as his buildings did for their structure. In certain respects the Statutes of Wadham are accommodated to more modern ideas, but on the whole they show us a state of society with habits and customs nearer to the middle ages than to our own time. They go thoroughly into the regulation of the Collegiate life, even descending to the details of dress, sitting and behaviour at table, social form and ceremony, and they give us a vivid picture of contemporary life within college walls. They begin thus:—

Cap. 1. In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Whereas Nicholas Wadham, of Merifield in the county of

Preface to the Statutes.

Somerset, my late husband, had it in his mind to found erect and establish a certain perpetual College of poor and needy Scholars in the University of Oxford, to the praise glory and honour of Almighty God, the increase of sound letters, and the common utility of this kingdom, and ofttimes while he was among the living, and especially a little before his death, declared to me that intention of his mind, and vehemently asked me to further it myself if God should grant a longer life to me than to him; I Dorothy Wadham, relict of the said Nicholas, desiring to fulfil his wishes as far as I can, and to promote this pious work so much as I shall be able, by virtue and strength of letters patent of our most Serene Lord James, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, granted me by his especial favour, do erect, found and establish a perpetual College of Students, and do assign, dedicate and grant to them a house for their habitation outside the wall of the City of Oxford, on the north side, in a certain place vulgarly called the Augustine Fryers, within the precincts of the University of Oxford, which house of students I will shall be for ever called *Collegium Wadhami*, but commonly Wadham College. . . . There is to be in the said College a superior who shall be called by the title of Warden, who shall remain in his office for life, unless it should happen that he be removed for causes below expressed. There are to be also fifteen Fellows, and as many Scholars, two Chaplains in Holy orders, also two Clerks, a Manciple, two Cooks, two Butlers, one Porter.

The Society.

Cap. 2. The Warden.

The Warden is to be a man of blameless report, not a bishop, nor an alien, a Master of Arts at the least, and he is to take the degree of D.D. within a year from his election, and to be and remain unmarried while he holds the office[1]. He is to be at least thirty years of age, to look well after the interests of the College, and to receive the unmurmuring obedience in things lawful of the whole body of Fellows, Scholars, Commoners, Battellars, Officers, and Servants.

[1] The condition of taking the D.D. degree, involving Holy Orders, was not in accordance with the expressed intention of the Founder (v. sup. p. 14). Nor was it in the original copy of the Statutes signed and sealed by the Foundress. Tradition asserts that she adopted it in compliance with the wishes of the Society. The original Statutes require the Warden to proceed to a Doctor's degree in one of the three Faculties; the other two are struck out with a pen in a later hand. The condition of the D.D. degree was abolished by the Parliamentary Commission of 1878, after repeated attempts of the College had failed to obtain relief. The other condition, that of celibacy, was specially insisted upon by the Founder in his last conversation with his nephew, v. sup. p. 14. This alone, if it were necessary, would dispose of the absurd story that the Foundress inserted the clause in the Statutes from pique at the refusal of Dr. Wright, the first Warden, to marry her. She was then 79 and Dr. Wright 53 years of age. A bill for enabling Heads of Houses to marry was brought in and defeated in 1783, and the condition of celibacy at Wadham was not finally abrogated by Act of Parliament till 1806.

Cap. 3. Mode of electing the Warden.

When the Wardenship becomes vacant, leaving the Society '*stupified like a swarm of bees without its governor*,' the Sub-Warden, or Senior Fellow if the Sub-Warden be absent, is to convoke the Fellows in the chapel on the day following to declare the vacancy, and summon them again to meet there on the third day inclusively reckoned at eight in the morning and elect a successor, when no one is to be absent without leave under pain of losing his Fellowship. The election is then to be made after morning service and the formal reading of this Statute, each Fellow voting *viva voce*, for some one who is or has been a Fellow of the College. If no one candidate should get a majority of votes, they are to meet and vote again at midday, and so on, till some one gets a majority, failing which, if two candidates have an equal number of votes, the nominee of the Sub-Warden, or in his absence of the Senior Fellow, is to be elected, and the Sub-Warden or Senior may in that case pronounce himself elected, though under no circumstances may any man vote for himself. The new Warden is to be sworn in and admitted by the Sub-Warden or Senior Fellow within the week.

Oath of the Warden.

His oath binds him to be faithful to the College and to govern according to the Statutes, to punish offenders, to submit to the awards of the Visitor, not to appeal should he be removed from his office, not to act in greater matters without the consent of the Society, to continue celibate while Warden, to see to the interests of the College in all ways, and especially in the renewal of leases, to promote the election of fit candidates to Scholarships and Fellowships, and not to be absent more than four months in the year without leave.

Cap. 4. 5. Mode of electing probationary Fellows.

In case of a vacant Fellowship the Warden, who is to have two votes in all elections, and the Fellows are to meet in the chapel on June 30, the morrow of St. Peter,—a day chosen probably with reference to Mrs. Wadham's family name,—and after prayers to elect a probationer from among the graduate Scholars. A majority of votes is to carry a candidate; and in case of a 'tie' the Bishop of Bath and Wells, or if the see be vacant the Chancellor of the University, is to choose between them. The successful candidate is to remain Probationer for a year, after which if he be approved on trial he is to be admitted Fellow. The probationer is to take an oath that he has not more than £10 a year, that he will be faithful to the College, will not reveal the College secrets

Oath of the probationer.

nor engage in conspiracies against the rules, will not marry while a Fellow, and will submit to penalties for breach of Statutes or to expulsion without appeal.

The Chaplains are to take the same oath. The Fellow also swears that he will not become Fellow of another College without leave. The Chaplains' oath.

Cap. 6. Election of Scholars.

The Scholars are to be elected also on the morrow of St. Peter's day, by the Warden, Sub-Warden, Dean, Bursars, and Humanity Lecturer. A majority of votes to elect, and in case of a tie the nomination of the Warden or in his absence the Sub-Warden to prevail. The Candidates must be poor, born in wedlock, not graduate, not less than fourteen nor more than nineteen years old. They must not possess £8 a year, and they must be able to compose a Latin letter and fairly good verses, and must either have begun or be ready to begin Dialectic. If none such can be found those who come nearest to these qualifications are to be taken. The Scholarships may be held twelve years after taking the M.A. degree and no longer, but with the condition that the holder improves himself in manners and science, obeys the Statutes, and does not possess more than £8 a year. Three Scholars are to be from Somerset, and three from Essex; the rest from any county in Great Britain. The Scholar's oath and that of the Clerk resembles, *mutatis mutandis*, that of the Probationer, and binds him among other things 'not to disturb the peace of the College by detractions, evil speakings, or abusive language, and not to make odious comparisons of family, country, or learning against any member of the College.'

Cap. 7. The oath of Scholars and Clerks.

Cap. 8. The Chapel services.

Next follow regulations for the chapel services. The chapel set apart in the said College for the celebration of Divine offices is to be decently and honourably maintained, and the public prayers appointed for the time in the Church[1] are to be reverently said or sung in the said chapel, at which both the Warden and Sub-Warden, the Fellows and Scholars, whether graduate or undergraduate, are to be bound to assist on Sundays and festivals, from the beginning to the end, the Warden sitting in the stall immediately to the right on entering the choir, the Sub-Warden on the left, and the others in order of seniority or degree.

[1] '*Precesque publicae in Ecclesia pro tempore constitutae.*'

On Sundays and festivals and eves and vigils they are to wear surplices and the vestments of their degrees[1]. The Clerks are to ring the bell for chapel, and also for lectures, disputations and all exercises, and for dinner and supper. There is to be service twice on ordinary days (*diebus profestis*) between five and six in the morning, and eight and nine in the evening[2], at which all Bachelors and junior members are to attend under penalty.

The Clerks.

Cap. 9. Rules for residence.

Fellows wishing to absent themselves for three whole days, or Scholars for one whole day, have to show cause and get leave from the Warden or in his absence the Sub-Warden. But no Scholar is to be absent from College more than thirty, and no Fellow more than forty days in the year; nor must more than seven of the whole number be absent at once unless for special reasons, among which are reckoned the death or severe illness of parents or near relatives.

Cap. 10. The officers. Sub-Warden, Dean, Sub-Dean.

The Sub-Warden, Dean, Bursars and other officers are to be elected by the suffrages of the Warden and five Senior Fellows annually on December 6, St. Nicholas' day, chosen with reference to the Founder's Christian name. The Sub-Warden's duties are to assist the Warden and represent him in his absence, and to act as moderator in the Theological disputations unless it should please the Warden to do it. The Dean is to preside at disputations of Bachelors in Logic and Philosophy, and is to have a Bachelor Fellow as Sub-Dean to preside at those of the Undergraduate Scholars. This Sub-Dean or any of the Bachelors if careless in their disputations may be punished by the Dean with a 'pensum literarium' or 'imposition,' and even in bad cases by the more awful penalty of being made to sit by themselves in disgrace at dinner and supper, and getting only short commons[3].

Bursars.

The Bursars are to receive the College income, and pay all expenses,

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[1] '*Statuo etiam quod singulis Dominicis festis et intercisis diebus in sacello eorum quisque superpelliceis et habitibus singulorum gradibus competentibus decoris e decore se induat.*'

[2] A decree of the Visitor in 1838 'interpreted' this to mean at any hours at the discretion of the Warden or Sub-Warden.

[3] The Dean was to have a fee of 6*s.* 8*d.* for presenting a Scholar for a Bachelor's degree or a Bachelor for a Master's, while Commoners and Battellars are to pay 8*d.* yearly, which the Dean and Sub-Dean are to divide equally.

to render a complete account yearly, and to have their accounts audited weekly in the room over the buttery by the Warden and three Senior Fellows, or their representatives.

There is to be a Catechist, one of the Fellows, whose duty it will be to instruct the youths in Christian religion and the elements of piety on alternate Thursdays during term-time between the hours of ten and eleven. Also a Praelector of Humanity who is to expound some classical author, Greek or Latin, in the Common Hall, and some other Fellow of the degree at least of Bachelor in Arts is to be Moderator of Philosophy[1]. Catechist. Praelector Humanitatis. Praelector philosophiae.

In order that each officer may discharge his office *with greater alacrity*, the Sub-Warden is to have an annual stipend of £4, the Dean and Sub-Dean and the Bursars each 40 shillings, the Catechist £3, the Praelector Humanitatis 40 shillings besides 6 pence a quarter from each Undergraduate Commoner and Battellar, and the Moderator of Philosophy £3.

Then follow rules for disputations on Wednesdays and Saturdays every week during term by all the Bachelors and Regent Masters: those in Theology to take place in the chapel, the rest in the hall. Also rules for lectures to Undergraduates by the different praelectors in their respective subjects beginning at six in the morning. Also for declamations in hall every Saturday between one and two o'clock by Commoners and Battellars, care being had to avoid *orationes ex bile natas*, as dangerous to harmony. *Cap.* 11. Disputations.

The next Statute relates to time for taking degrees, which bears upon the duration of tenure of Fellowships and Scholarships, and contains the condition, singular at that time, which the prudence of the Founder had devised, that no one shall continue to hold his Fellowship for more than eighteen years after he has completed his Regency[2]. *Cap.* 12. Term of Fellowship.

Then follow the yearly stipends of the Society. The Warden is *Cap.* 13. Stipends.

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[1] In a subsequent chapter (Cap. 21) it is ordered that no Fellow shall hold two offices at once.

[2] Regents are those who compose the House of Congregation. 'All Doctors of every Faculty and all Masters of Arts are *necessario Regentes* for two years from the end of the Term in which they are admitted to their respective degrees.'—'Oxford University Calendar.' As to the Founder's intentions, see above, p. 14. The original Statute limited the term of years to 'decem,' which is altered in a later hand to 'octodecim.'—v. Letter of Foundress of Mar. 28, 1614, cited infra p. 79.

to have £100, each Fellow and Probationer £20, Scholars £10, and Chaplains £13. 6*s.* 8*d.* each; each Clerk £6. 13*s.* 4*d.*, the Manciple £10, the Butler £3 and the under Butler £4, the Barber and Laundress each 30*s.*, the Porter 26*s.* 8*d.*, the Cook £3 and the under Cook £4. From the stipend of the Warden and Fellows at least £12 yearly is to be expended in 'Commons' of meat and drink, from that of the Scholars £6, from that of the Chaplains £8, and from that of the Clerks £4, in equal weekly portions. Moreover the Butler, under Butler, Porter, and Manciple are to have £10 yearly to be spent in meat and drink in the College Hall. If any one be absent he is to lose his Commons, and the profit is to go to the College.

Cap. 14. Dress and behaviour.

We now come to the matter of dress, conversation, and manners, which are regulated with precision. The Fellows and Scholars are to wear black or dark-coloured clothes; to appear in gowns down to their heels and square caps not only outside the College, but also within the gates, except in their own chambers. Entrance to the Buttery is forbidden to all undergraduates, and even to Bachelors unless they are required to go there on business. And '*inasmuch as too much familiarity is wont to breed contempt*' the Masters are warned not to be too intimate with Bachelors, nor Bachelors with Scholars or Masters, while the Scholars are allowed no familiarity at all with Masters. A Bachelor meeting a Master shall uncover his head, at all events once either on greeting him or taking his leave: but a Commoner or Battellar undergraduate must remain uncovered the whole time. Scholars in particular are to be kept humble, for while undergraduate they are never to cover themselves within the College without leave, and Bachelor Scholars must remain uncovered in a Master's presence. Above all the Warden is to be treated with the greatest respect.

Cards and dice.

Unseemly gaming with dice or cards is forbidden, but on All Saints' Day, Christmas Day and the feasts following, and on the Purification of the Blessed Virgin they are allowed to play cards in the hall for small stakes and at a suitable hour. But no one in College may make use of guns, crossbows, or keep dogs, ferrets, rabbits, hares, or any kind of bird, nor may they wear arms except when travelling. Lastly, no Scholar below the degree of Master is to go about alone, but always to have as his companion some Scholar, Commoner, Battellar, or

Arms and instruments of sport forbidden.

Servant '*as a witness of his upright and honest conversation*,' unless he be on his way to lecture or the Schools, or have leave.

The Statutes are ordered to be read publicly twice a year, a fortnight before Easter and Michaelmas, and there are to be three copies of them, one to be kept in the Common chest, one by the Warden, and one in a chest in the Library.

At nine o'clock in the evening or a quarter past the College gate is to be locked and the keys taken to the Warden's chamber, and the gate is not to be opened before five the following morning. No one, whether Fellow, Scholar, Commoner or Battellar, is to sleep out without leave, nor to climb the walls[1], under penalty of loss of commons, or for repeated offence expulsion. *Cap.* 16. Closing the College gate.

Then follow the rules for dinner and supper. We shall return to these in a later chapter when we come to the Hall. *Cap.* 17. Rules for dinner and supper in Hall.

The next deals with reasons for avoidance or deprivation of Fellows or Scholars for misconduct or acquisition of property or a benefice above the aforesaid limits. The Warden, however, is allowed to hold benefices of any value. *Cap.* 18 Deprivation.

We then come to the College servants, who were, and are still, regularly matriculated members of the foundation. They are to be appointed by the Warden and five Seniors. The Manciple (*Obsonator*) is to buy the eatables in conjunction with the Cook and Steward of the Hall (*Senescallus Aulae*), 'neither making nor seeking any gain for himself out of these purchases.' He is also required to wait at the High Table. The Butler (*Promus*) with his under Butler is to take care of the drink and the plate, and to keep an account of 'commons.' The Cook (*Coquus*) is to go as aforesaid to the market and buy the meat, and to be accompanied by some robust youth, honest and unmarried, as under-cook to carry his basket. The duties of the Porter (*Janitor*) have been already defined. On their election all these servants are to be sworn to fidelity, diligence and secresy. *Cap.* 19. The servants. The Manciple. The Butler. The Cook.

There is also to be a Barber (*Barbitonsor*) to shave the Fellows and The Barber.

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[1] Dec. 4, 1633. A Scholar and Battellar are sconced, '*privati sunt convictu p̃ mensẽ * * eo quod contra idẽ statutũ 29° 9bris pxime p̃cedente Collegij muros scandissent.*' — 'Conv. Book,' ii. p. 68.

Scholars when they want it, '*for I do not permit any poor student in my College to grow his beard, or let his hair fall on his shoulders, nor on the other hand to crop it too close.*'

The Laundress.

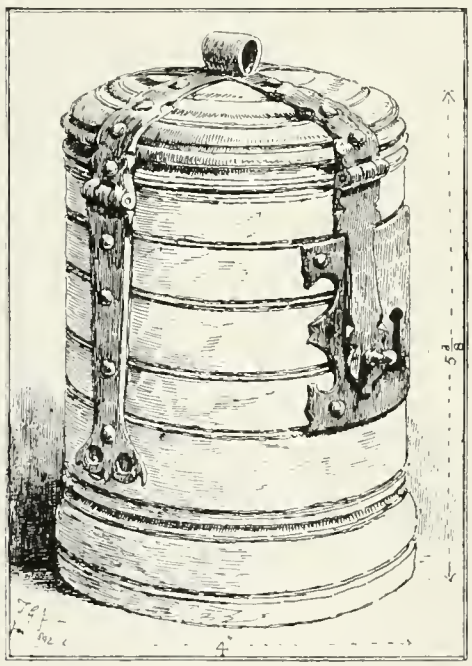
The rules for service throughout the College follow almost verbatim those of New College. All is to be done by males, except that the Laundress (*Lotrix*) may come to the outer gate of the College[1] on fixed days for the linen of the Chapel and Buttery, but she is to be of such an age, condition, and reputation, that there shall be no chance of any evil suspicion lighting on her.

Cap. 20, 21. Progress round the estate.

Every five years the Warden, or if he be unable the Sub-Warden with another Fellow, is to make a progress through all the College estates after the feast of St. Mary Magdalen. Various rules for leases and fines follow, and regulations for an annual audit in December. Surplus money is to be placed in the College Chest in the Treasury, of which there shall be three keys, one kept by the Warden, one by the Sub-Warden, and the other by the Senior Bursar. In another chest in the Treasury all the documents relating to the College property are to be kept, as well as the College seal, which is to be enclosed in a '*certain little box bound with iron and with two locks with separate keys*' to be kept by the Warden and Dean respectively. The sacredness of this seal is strictly insisted on: it is to be taken out of its little box only between sunrise and sunset, and in the presence of the majority of the Fellows, and in no other place but the Hall or Chapel; and not only are papers sealed with it elsewhere to be void and worthless, but those who so use it, '*besides*

College chests.

College Seal.



THE 'CISTULA' CONTAINING THE COMMON SEAL.

[1] The outer gate '*prima Collegii porta*' was no doubt not the present entrance under the Tower, but the advanced gateway opening on the road shown in Loggan's print.

the penalty of perjury which I will that they incur by the very act,' are to be expelled from the College.

There is to be another chest with three locks and keys in the Bursary[1], where the Bursars are to keep their cash, and the College plate not in daily use, unless the Warden and seniors should prefer the Treasury, which also is to have three distinct locks and keys on the door. The articles of plate are to be preserved with '*the same names and forms by which they are now or shall hereafter be known, and to be kept as long as possible without any change according to the last wish of the donors.*' Every year on the 6th of December all the contents of the Treasury are to be examined by the Society[2]. The Bursars' chest. The plate

The Steward of the Hall is to be a Fellow not holding any office, whose duty it shall be to supervise the purchase of comestibles, going to market with the Cook and Manciple, displaying his purchases in the Common Hall to the Warden and Fellows, and rendering an account to the Bursars every Friday, which the Cook and Manciple are to attest. *Cap.* 22 Senescallus Aulae.

We now come to the Visitor. '*Human nature*,' says the Statute, '*is so prone and inclined to evil, and as we see daily the changeableness of times so destroys and alters the best of things, that it is not in my power to frame laws and statutes which an astute and shifty man may not violate either by misinterpreting them, or introducing something fraudulent, or devising means for undoing any knot though tied by Hercules himself.*' The Bishop of Bath and Wells for the time being is therefore to be Visitor, with power to interpret and enforce the observance of the Statutes[3]. He is to have license to visit the College once in five years, and not oftener except at the request of the Warden or, in his absence, Sub-Warden, and the five Senior Fellows. The Society is humbly and reverently to offer the Visitor his expenses when he comes, and to give *Cap.* 23. The Visitor. Visitations.

[1] The room over the Buttery, now the Common Room.

[2] The display of all the plate in the College Hall still takes place on the Gaudy-day, Dec. 6, in the morning, when it is counted and examined by the two Junior Fellows.

[3] '*Primum vero visitatorem nominabat ipse* (*marilus*) *nempe Perhonorificum Virum Patremque Reverendissimum Jacobum Divina Providentia dictae sedis nunc episcopum.*' See above, p. 11. James Montague consequently remained Visitor after his translation to Winchester. Afterwards the Visitor was always the Bishop of Bath and Wells for the time being.

his Commissary two refections in College or 30*s.* for his expenses. This is never to occur twice in the same year, nor is the visitation to last over three days. The Foundress then solemnly charges the Bishops of Bath and Wells to do justice impartially according to the Apostles' doctrine, not seeking their own things, but the things of Jesus Christ.

Accusations to the Visitor.

It is further provided that in case of an accusation to the Visitor against the Warden or any other member of the Society, the accused shall not demand the name of his accuser nor a copy of the charge, except when the penalty to which he is liable is expulsion, in which case the charge may be shown him, to enable him to clear himself if he can.

Cap. 24. Removal of the Warden.

The Visitor may remove the Warden for gross offences, intolerable negligence, frequent drunkenness or absenteeism, if he refuse to resign when required to do so by the Sub-Warden and five seniors.

Cap. 25. De dissensionibus sedandis.

Quarrels and disputes are to be appeased by the College authorities, and members of the College are not to have recourse to ecclesiastical or secular courts against one another.

Cap. 26. De cubiculorum dispositione.

Then follows a very interesting chapter about the disposal of the Chambers, the Warden's lodgings, the Treasury, the Bursary, the Fellows' chambers, and those for the Scholars and Commoners; also for the furniture belonging to them. We shall return to this in a subsequent chapter when describing the building in detail.

Cap. 27. De gaudiorum diebus.

In addition to the 'Commons' before allowanced, a sum of £30 is to be divided yearly among the Warden, Fellows, Scholars, Chaplains, and Clerks, in proportion to their stipends, on the following days:— Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Election days of Fellows and Officers (June 30 and Dec. 6), All Saints', Purification, the day of the Founder's death (Oct. 20), Easter and Pentecost. Only those present in the Hall are to participate. In times of scarcity or depression of rents, the stipends and allowances are to be diminished in respective proportion.

Cap. 28. The Library.

The next Statute relates to the Library. We reserve this for a subsequent chapter when dealing with that part of the College.

Cap. 29. Commoners & Battellars.

For the admission of Students not on the Foundation (*extranei*) as Commoners or Battellars[1], the consent of the Warden, or Sub-Warden

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[1] Battellars, or battellers, were undergraduates of a grade between commoners and servitors. They paid less and waited on themselves, buying their food of the cook and

in his absence, and majority of admitted Fellows is necessary. They must be persons of good conduct, and in case of misconduct they are removable after being warned by the Warden. Every Commoner before he is admitted to 'Commons' must pay an entrance fee of 20 shillings or a silver cup, and the Battellar is to pay 10 shillings. The Tutors are to enter into a Bond for the payment of their pupils' battels, and every Commoner and Battellar on attaining the age of fifteen is to take the following oath :—

Commoners' Oath

> You shall sweare to maintaine and defend the honesty and good fame of this Colledge, as much as in you lyeth. You shall sweare to be faithfull and true to the Colledge in putting on, or causing to be putt on, whatsoever you shall take for the relief of yourself or any other: and that you shall not by any meanes and wayes seeke the hurt or detriment of this Colledge. You shall sweare to observe and keep the ordinary exercise of this house appointed for you, or to endure and susteine the usuall and ordinary punishment inflicted for your faultes. Neither shall you show yourself any wayes untractable or unconformable to the good orders and discipline of this Colledge. Soe God helpe you, and the holy contents of this booke [1].

Cap. 30. Of travelling Fellows.

One Fellow, or at most two at a time, may be allowed to travel, after obtaining a legal passport, and to remain in some foreign University for four years in order to study civil law or medicine. During his absence the travelling Fellow is to receive an exhibition of £10 as 'viaticum.'

Cap. 31. Conclusio statutorum.

The final Statute contains several miscellaneous provisions. Fraudulent interpretation of the Statutes is to be punished by expulsion. The Foundress reserves to herself power to amend or alter the Statutes, and during her life to nominate the Members of the Society, and to alter and regulate their stipends. The Warden and Fellows are not to make new Statutes contrary to the old, and all doubtful points as to their meaning are to be referred to the Visitor.

Temporary reduction of stipends.

At the first election the whole number of the Society is to be elected, but during her life the Foundress directs that the salary of the Warden be only £50, that of the Fellows £10, the Scholars £5, the Chaplains

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butler, and fetching it themselves from the kitchen: v. Wood's 'Fasti,' 1222, '*They were only battlers and took the cook's commons*;' also v. Murray's 'Dictionary,' sub verb.

[1] This oath is given in English, the other oaths in Latin. Not much Latin seems to have been expected of the Commoners; see Statutes, § 17.

£6. 13*s.* 4*d.*, the Clerks £3, the Butler £1, under Butler £3, the Cook £1. 10*s.*, the under Cook £3. Of these reduced stipends the Warden is to expend in Commons in the public Hall £10, and the Fellows, Scholars, Chaplains, and Clerks, the whole of their stipends. After her death, when her life interest under her husband's will expires, the stipends are to be raised to the Statutory amounts (v. supra, Cap. 13). Also the extra allowances on Gaudy days during her life were to be reduced to £20.

During her life the Foundress added a few supplementary statutes. First she desired that at Election to the Foundation a preference should
Founder's kin. be given to the kin of Nicholas Wadham, provided that the number of those so elected should not exceed three Fellows and three Scholars. Some rules as to time of taking degrees are relaxed, and others are laid down for division of 'wood money.' Lastly, the Warden and
Sermons. Fellows are empowered to make rules for sermons being preached either publicly or in the College by those members who are in orders.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST SOCIETY

West Country connexion.

The Foundress reserved to herself, as we have seen, all nominations to the new Foundation during her lifetime, and it is therefore not surprising to find that the majority of the earlier members came from the West Country. Ten of the fifteen Fellows, ten of the fifteen Scholars, one of the two Chaplains, and one of the two Clerks, came from the counties of Somerset, Devon, or Dorset. One Fellow and two Scholars were nominated by the City of Oxford under their agreement when they sold the site, so that from the rest of the kingdom there were only four Fellows and three Scholars, a Chaplain and a Clerk. The tendency of modern legislation for the Universities, unlike that for the army, has been to break up local associations, and to sever the ties which once connected certain foundations with certain parts of the kingdom, whence they drew the majority of their students. Fuller, writing in the seventeenth century, says:—'*New College is the most proper for Southern, Exeter for Western, Queen's for Northern, Brazenose for North-Western men, St. John's for Londoners, Jesus for Welshmen, and at other Colleges almost indifferently for men of all countries*[1]': and yet, as the registers testify, Wadham from the first, though in a less marked degree, was largely recruited from Somerset and Devon, and even to the present day it has preserved something of the traditional character of a West Country College.

The first Society.

The following is a list of the first members of the Foundation, who were instituted on the memorable 20th of April, 1613.

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[1] 'Worthies of Oxfordshire.'

WARDEN.

Robert Wright, D.D., of Trinity College.

FELLOWS.

William Smith, M.A., Exeter College.
John Goodridge, M.A., Balliol and Gloucester Hall.
Edward Brunckard, M.A., St. Edmund Hall.
John Pitts, M.A., Magd. Hall and Magd.
Matthew Osborne[1], M.A., New and Oriel.
James Harington, M.A., Hart Hall.
Henry Ancktill, M.A., Univ. Coll.
Daniel Estcot, B.A., Exeter Coll.
Humphrey Sydenham, B.A., Exeter Coll.
Richard Puleston, B.A., Hart Hall.
Francis Strode, B.A., Broadgate Hall.
Ralph Flexney, B.A., Oriel.
Thomas Harris[2], B.A., Exeter.
William Payton, B.A., Trinity.
John Swadell.

SCHOLARS.

Nicholas Brewen.
Robert Ellis.
Amias Hext.
John Wooley.
William Arnold.
Robert Arnold.
Walter Stonehouse.
William Boswell.
John Willis.
John Flavell.
Richard Tapper.
Alexander Hewis or Huish, Commoner of Magd. Hall.
George Hill.
William Potter[2].
[1] Isaac Smith[2].

CHAPLAINS.

Thomas Randolphe, M.A., of Cambridge.
Gilbert Stokes, M.A., Hart Hall.

CLERKS.

Alexander Gill of Trinity Coll.
William Nichols[1].

The Warden and Fellows.

The Warden was of the ripe age of 53, but most of the Fellows were young men. Goodridge and Osborne were over 30, and Smyth and Pitts were 29, but the rest were from 23 to 25 years of age, except Harris, who was only 19, and Swaddell, who was still an Undergraduate.

The undergraduates.

Besides the Scholars the College received at its opening forty-eight other undergraduates. There were eleven Fellow-Commoners, the first two on the list being sons of William, Lord Petre, and great-nephews

[1] Mr. Gardiner observes that Osborne, Smith, and Nichols were not admitted at the same time as the rest, but on June 8.

[2] The Nominees of the City of Oxford under the condition attached to the sale of the site were Thomas Harris to a Fellowship, and Potter and Smith to Scholarships.

of the Foundress; eighteen Commoners, nine Battellars, and ten more who appear as pupils of the original Fellows though their status is not defined. There were therefore in all sixty-five undergraduates.

Dr. Wright the first Warden.

ROBERT WRIGHT, the first Warden, was not, as might have been expected, a West Country man, but a native of St. Albans. He was born in 1560, and matriculated at Trinity College in 1574, where he is entered as *plebei filius an. nat.* 14. In the same year, being then fifteen, he was elected Scholar. He graduated in 1580, and was elected Fellow in 1581. In 1589 he held the living of Woodford in Essex. If, as is supposed, he is the same Robert Wright to whom an epigram is addressed in Thomas Newton's *Encomia*, printed in 1589, he must have been already famous as an accomplished scholar:—

'Ubera cui Charites dant, et favet innuba Pallas
Quemque beat docta doctus Apollo chely.'

Newton, *Encom.* ed. 1589, p. 124.

This is addressed, 'ad eruditissimum virum Robertum Wrightum nobilissimi viri Essexiae Comitis famulum primarium.'

A little later he accompanied Sir H. Unton in an embassy to the camp of the French King at La Fere, where his patron died in 1595. Wright published a collection of verses in his memory, written by several authors, and containing two pieces of his own, of which Warton preserves one as being in a singular strain, much superior to the taste of those times:—

'Haec, Untone, tuo cecinere in funere musae
Oxonides, tristes munera ad inferias.
Oxonides musae, quarum es nutritus in ulnis,
Heu, teneras lacrymarum imbre rigante genas!
Quae tibi postremo nostri pro munere amoris
Curavi in memores iam referenda typos,
Accipiant laeti manes studia ista tuorum,
At tu patrone o dulcis ave atque vale.'

In the year following the death of Sir H. Unton, Wright was appointed to the living of Brixton Deverell in Wilts, by Lord Keeper Egerton, and he was made chaplain to Queen Elizabeth. He afterwards held the livings of Bourton-on-the-Water in Gloucestershire and Hayes in Middlesex, and was appointed chaplain to James I in 1601, and in the

Dr. Wright, Warden.

same year Canon and Treasurer of Wells Cathedral. In 1604 he was Vicar of Sonning, which living he retained with the Wardenship.

Dr. Wright only held the Wardenship five months, and resigned it in Sept. 1613, 'not being permitted by the Foundress to marry.' He was consecrated Bishop of Bristol in 1622, and translated to Lichfield and Coventry in 1633. He was one of the twelve bishops who were impeached and sent to the Tower in 1641 for protesting against all laws passed by Parliament in their absence to which they were compelled by the violence of the populace whenever they appeared in public; and he died in 1643 at his house of Eccleshall in Staffordshire while defending it for the King against Sir William Brereton [1]. An ivy-mantled tower of Eccleshall Castle alone has survived the ruin wrought by the Parliamentary forces [2].

He had an only son, Calvert Wright, who entered Wadham College as a Fellow Commoner in 1634. Wood says he inherited Newnham Courtenay, Oxon, from his father, but ran through his property and died in a mean condition in the King's Bench, Southwark, in the winter of 1666.

There is a portrait of Warden Wright in the College Hall, and Trinity College possesses another. Wood says his arms and a memorial inscription with the date 1615 on a scroll were in a window of the ante-chapel. The arms and scroll are lost; the rest is now in the library.

Rapid succession of first five Wardens.

It is remarkable that three of the original Fellows, Smyth, Estcot, and Pitts, lived to become in their turn Head of the College, so rapidly did the office fall vacant by death or resignation during the first thirty-one years of its history.

William Smyth, Fellow.

William Smyth or Smith was a Somersetshire man and a graduate of Exeter College. The Foundress nominated him Sub-Warden every year, and though not so old as Goodridge he seems to have been recognized as senior Fellow. On the death of Warden Fleming in March $16\frac{16}{17}$, the Foundress appointed Smyth to the Headship, in conjunction with which he held the living of Fryerning from 1620 to 1630. In

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[1] For Dr. Wright, v. Wood, 'Colleges and Halls,' 595; 'Athenae Oxon.' iv. 800, 801; Warton's 'Life of Sir Thomas Pope;' Gardiner, 'Reg. of Wadh. Coll.'

[2] Mr. Niven, who visited it in 1881, says a farm-house was built out of the ruins by Bp. Lloyd in 1695; 'Staffordshire Houses,' p. 2.

1630 he became Vice-Chancellor and held the office for two consecutive years. He resigned the Wardenship in 1635, after which he was Rector of Tredington and Prebendary of Worcester. He died in 1658, 'over whose grave (in Speechley Church near Worcester), is a fair marble stone,' with an inscription which Wood gives at length. During the Commonwealth he was deprived of his preferments and lived at Oriel [1]. His portrait is in the College Hall.

John Goodridge, Fellow.

JOHN GOODRIDGE, after serving most of the College offices, ran out the eighteen years' term of his Fellowship in 1631; and on leaving the College, gave it the whole of the furniture of his chamber with three studies in the 'South Crest,' now part of staircase No. 6. In 1638 he became Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham College, and Warden of Lord Northampton's Hospital or College at Greenwich. At his death in 1654 he left to Wadham College his lands at Walthamstow and his personal property, in all worth £60 a year, to found Exhibitions. An account is preserved of his funeral expenses, and an inventory of his furniture and clothes at Gresham College and Greenwich [2]. There is a portrait of him in the Hall, and another in the Warden's lodgings.

John Pitt, Fellow.

JOHN PITT, PYTTE, or PITTS, for his name is variously spelt, after holding many College offices resigned his Fellowship in 1628. On the death of Warden Estcot in 1644, Pitt was elected to succeed him. As he was an opponent of the Parliamentary Commission he was ejected from his office in 164$\frac{7}{8}$ and Dr. Wilkins was made Warden in his place. He died soon afterwards in Somerset [3].

James Harrington Fellow.

JAMES HARRINGTON, son of Sir James Harrington, K^{nt}, of Ridlington in Rutland, was the Fellow chosen to deliver the Latin oration at the consecration of the chapel, and he was the first Bursar of the College. He appears in July 1613 as Tutor of four pupils for whose 'commons' he gives the statutory guarantee. A few years later, in 1627-8, he disputed the power of the College to deprive him of his Fellowship although possessed of property amounting to £40 a year, asserting that he had a dispensation from the Foundress which had been confirmed by the first Visitor. The Visitor's letter, however, could not be found, and

[1] Walker's 'Sufferings,' ii. 681, cited by Gardiner, 'Reg.' p. 3.
[2] Wood, 'Colleges and Halls,' 594, note; Warden's MSS. 112, 113.
[3] Gardiner 'Regist.,' p. 5.

Harrington accused the Warden and Mr. Estcot of destroying it. Although the Visitor (Bishop Laud) ultimately restored Harrington to his fellowship he required him to make a humble apology to the Warden and Fellows, and to pay the charges of this dispute, all which he was with difficulty got to do[1]. The written apology is preserved, and is abject enough, but it did not prevent him from continuing to revile the Warden and Fellows, for which in 1629 he was suspended from the emoluments of his Fellowship for six months. Harrington was evidently a man with a grievance, and an uncomfortable member of the Society. He ran out the term of his Fellowship, and was '*amotus*' July 12, 1631.

Henry Anck-till, Fellow.

HENRY ANCKTILL, or ANCKETYLL, son of a Dorsetshire squire, was the first Fellow who availed himself of the statutory permission to travel, for which he obtained the consent of the Society and goodwill of the Foundress, who wrote as follows to the Warden on Dec. 2, 1617[2].

My good Warden,

I have been lately solicited, that Mr. Ancketyll (who is one of y^{or} fellows in my College) might have my good will to travell beyond the seas for some time; his request is reasonable, as I am well contented therewth and because he is the first that goeth abroad, I will adde a litle to his desires, I heare so well of him, as I make no doubt, but he will make good use of his iourny. And therefore would have both you and my Company understand that notwth-standing my statutes in that behalf, wch allowes but ten poundes yearely, he shall during the whole time of his absence receive all such stipend allowance and comodity frō my College, as should be due unto him were he personally there present: wth this condition only, that he returne wthin the space of three yeeres, and begin his travells wthin twelve moneths, after the date hereof. So comending me unto you, & yō whole Society, I rest

Edge this 2nd of December 1617.

Yo^{r} loving Foundres
DOROTHE WADHM.

To the copy of this letter in the Convention Book is appended a copy of the passport which, according to the Statutes, the travelling Fellow had to produce for the satisfaction of the Society. It is of some interest as an example of the formalities of the time:—

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[1] Warden's MSS. 52, 53, and 'Convention Book.,' ii., Oct. 10, 1627–June, 1629. The letters of Bp. Laud are copied into the reverse end of that book.

[2] Enclosed in one from John Arnold. MS. Letters, No. 18. Copied also in 'Convention Book.'

Passport temp. James I.

Whereas Henry Ancketyll of Wadham College in Oxford gẽt is desirous to travell into the kingdome of Fraunce, and other partes beyond the Seas, and for his indempnity and more free passage hath made humble suit unto us for o^r^ license and pasport to go over and remayne there during the space of three yeeres for his better experience: the wch we have been moved hereby to grant unto him. These shall be to will and require you and every of you to whom it shall or may appertayne to suffer the sayd Henry Ancketyll to imbarke himself and one man servant to attend him, at any of his Ma^tyes^ portes, and to take wth him such trunkes of apparrell and other necessary provisions (not prohibited) as he shall have occasion to cařy wth him for his use, w^thout^ trouble or molestation: Provided that he departe not to the City of Rome w^thout^ his Ma^tyes^ speciall licence first had and obtayned. For wch this shall be yor warrant.

To all Mayors, Sheriffes, Justices of Peace, Vice-Admiralls, Customers, Comptrollers, Searchers, Officers of portes, and all other his Maties officers and loving Subiects, to whom it shall or may appertayne.

G. CANT: Nottingham.

W. WALLINGFFORD.

J. CARYE.

T. EDMONDES. C. EDMONDES[1].

THO. LAKE.

Ancketyll's name frequently appears in the Convention Book as obtaining leave of absence, and on Dec. 24, 1621[2], he resigned his Fellowship before marriage. He was afterwards Rector of Mells, Somerset, and Prebendary of Wells in 1639. During the Civil War he was Governor of Corfe Castle for the King, and became famous among the Parliamentarians as 'Colonel Anketell the Priest and malignant Doctor.' Mr. Gardiner thinks him the original of Dr. Rochecliffe in Sir Walter Scott's 'Woodstock.' He is said to have died before the Restoration[3].

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[1] Other cases of travelling Fellows occur during the reign of Charles I., the passport being always copied into the Convention Book. There is one to Nicholas Bruen, Fellow, dated May, 13, 1620; another to William Blake, Fellow, about to travel abroad as Tutor to Jo. Horsey, Esq., son to Sir J. Horsey, of Clifton, Dorset, Aug. 19, 1634. To Richard Knightsbridge, Fellow, for 3 years' travel, July 26, 1638. To Thos. Manning in 1641, and again on Feb. 10, 1641, for 3 years' travel for bettering his knowledge of languages. Again to John Knightsbridge for 3 years, Ap. 20, 1644. In all cases there is the same prohibition of a visit to Rome, and Knightsbridge is further cautioned 'not to use the companie of any Jefuite, Seminary prieft, or other evill-affected perfon to our State,' &c.

[2] 'Convention Book,' ii. p. 30.

[3] Gardiner, 'Reg. of Wadh. Coll.,' p. 8.

Daniel Estcot, Fellow.

DANIEL ESTCOT matriculated at Exeter College in 1608 (Devon. pleb. fil. act. 18). After holding several College offices he ran out the eighteen years' term of his Fellowship in 1634, but was elected Warden July 7, 1635, in succession to Warden Smith. During his Wardenship Oxford was disturbed by military occupation, and the College had to surrender its plate to the royal necessities. He died in April 1644 and was buried at the east end of the inner chapel [1].

Humphry Sydenham, Fellow.

HUMPHRY SYDENHAM'S first distinction was on March 22, 1618, when by resolution of the Warden and five Seniors he was mulcted in deprivation of commons and all emoluments till Midsummer because '*contrary to the express meaning of the decree of the Foundress he had incurred scandalous excommunication* [2].' We are not further informed of the nature of this enormity. In later years he held the livings of Ashbrittle and Odcombe, and a Prebend in Wells Cathedral of which he was deprived by the Parliamentary Commissioners [3]. 'He was born,' says Fuller, 'at Dalveston, of a most ancient and worshipfull family; bred Fellow of Wadham College; so eloquent a preacher that he was commonly called silver-tongued Sidenham. But let his own printed sermons (and especially that called "*The Athenian Babbler*") set forth his deserved praise, who died since our civil distemper about the year 1650 [4].'

Thomas Harris, Fellow.

THOMAS HARRIS was the Fellow whom the City nominated under their agreement with the Foundress. He seems to have been son to Thomas Harris, Mayor of Oxford, who attended the laying of the Foundation stone in 1610 [5]. He only enjoyed his Fellowship for a few months, for he died on June 5, 1614, and was buried in the ante-chapel, where his monument still remains. The Foundress writing to the Warden and Fellows on June 27, 1614, to nominate Huish for the vacant Fellowship alludes to Harris's death, '*being let to understand by you of the late death of one of the fellowes of my house, w^ch^ (if it had pleafed God) for the good I have heard of him I could have wished otherwise* [6].'

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[1] Wood. Gardiner, 'Regist.,' p. 8.

[2] 'Convention Book,' ii.

[3] Gardiner, 'Regist.,' p. 10.

[4] 'Worthies of Somersetshire.' See also Wood's 'Athen.' iii. 274.

[5] v. supra, p. 44.

[6] Copy in 'Convention Book,' ii. p. 6.

John Swadell, Fellow.

JOHN SWADDELL was a nephew of Doctor Bisse, the donor of the principal part of the Library, of whom mention has been made. At the time of his appointment he was not yet a graduate, but in a MS. note on the copy of the Statutes preserved in the Muniment Room the Foundress writes of him: '*Nepos Doctoris Philippi Bifse quem licet non graduatum in numerum tamen sociorum elegi ob singularem amorem avunculi sui erga Collegium meum.*' Swaddell graduated B.A. in 1616, M.A. 1619, and resigned his Fellowship before June 30, 1617[1].

Of the other original Fellows there is nothing remarkable to record. What is known about them may be found in Mr. Gardiner's book. Of the original Scholars a few only need be mentioned here. Only seven among them became Fellows.

William and Robert Arnold, Scholars.

WILLIAM ARNOLD and ROBERT ARNOLD, the kinsmen of Mr. John Arnold, were promoted to Fellowships on the nomination of the Foundress, who writes as follows[2]:—

> I Dorothe Wadham of Edge in the countie of Devon widdow doe decree and ordeine that (whereas I have allready written unto you for the requestinge of the next fellowes place that shall happen for one of my Servant Arnolds kinſmen now Scollers in my Colledge) when that place before ſpoken of is donne (accordinge to your former directions) then the next fellowship that shall happen after to be void, you that are the Warden and Fellows of my College in Oxforde shall immediately chuſe and admitt without delay or contradiction the other of his kinſmen as a probationer untill the day of election shall come and then to admitt him into the body of your fellowshippe according to the meaning of this Schedule wch I have ſealed with mine own ſeale, and to which I have ſubſcribed myne owne hande the viij^th^ of December 1617.
>
> Signed ſealed and delivered
> in the prefence of
>
> JOHN ARNOLD.
> NICHOLAS HEWES[3].
> RICHARD GOODEN.
>
> DOROTHE WADHAM.

William Arnold accordingly became probationer in 1620 and full

[1] Gardiner, 'Regist.,' pp. 12, 479.
[2] MS. Letters, No. 19. Copy in 'Convention Book,' ii. p. 20.
[3] One of the original scholars was Alexander Hewis or Huish; v. pp. 66 and 75.

Fellow in 1621. He travelled in 1638 and resigned in 1640. He seems to have sown his wild oats as a Scholar, for we find him in 1619 punished '*quia pernoctavit in oppido.*' But his brother or relative Robert gave his friends and the College a good deal of trouble. On Dec. 2, 1617, John Arnold writes to Warden Smyth :—

> I have writen to Robin Arnold, wch letter yf you would take occafion to afke for, and withall to let him know yor minde, my laft letter unto you is caufe enough to talke with him becaufe therein I mentioned that who pleafed you beft fhould beft please me, &c.[1]

In the following March, $16\frac{1}{18}$, he writes again to the Warden :—

> . . . I can hardly be drawen to fend Robin Arnold his quarterage formerly geven by me, were it not that I wifh him better than he hath grace to conceive, and alfo doubtinge his former frantick tricks. I pray lett him not be untold by you whereby he may the better know himfelfe . . .[2]

Robin, however, became full Fellow in 1619, and held several College offices, but at the visitation of Bishop Pierce in 1633 he was degraded from his position as one of the five Senior Fellows *quia male et factiose se gefsit in dicto Collegio*[3]. He died in June 1635, and was buried in the north part of the antechapel[4].

William Boswell, Scholar.

WILLIAM BOSWELL was one of the Scholars who were too young to take the oaths on election. He was son of Alderman William Boswell, of All Saints', Oxford, no doubt the draper who supplied the mourning at the Foundress' funeral[5]. He became a full Fellow in 1622, and resigned his Fellowship in 1639. He was an advocate in the Court of Arches and a learned civilian, and afterwards, about 1652, High Sheriff of Oxfordshire. He was buried near his father in All Saints' Church[6]. It was from him that Anthony à Wood got the particulars of the Founder's residence at Christ Church[7].

John Flavell, Scholar.

JOHN FLAVELL, son of a Somersetshire clergyman, is said by Wood

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[1] MS. Letters, No. 18.
[2] MS. Letters, No. 22.
[3] 'Convention Book,' ii. p. 61.
[4] Gardiner, 'Regist.,' p. 15.
[5] Warden's MSS. No. 25. MS. letter (of Mr. John Arnold), No. 25.
[6] Gardiner, 'Regist.,' p. 15.
[7] v. supra, p. 6.

to have entered Trinity College at the age of fourteen, where 'he soon became the forwardest youth in that House for his quick and smart disputations in logic and philosophy. The Foundress having been often told of the pregnancy of his parts made him one of the first Scholars. He made himself very useful among the Juniors by his frequent reading of logic lectures, and presiding in philosophical disputations in the public refectory. He was esteemed a good Greek and Latin poet, and was Senior of the Art in 1617, and was chosen Public Professor of Grammar in the University, in which faculty he was excellent, and took great delight. He died in the flower of his youth on 10th Nov. 1617[1].' He had only been admitted full Fellow in the preceding June.

Alexander Huish, Scholar.

Alexander Huish became full Fellow in 1615 and resigned in 1629. He became Prebendary of Wells 1627, Rector of Beckington, Somerset, 1628, and of Hornblotton, 1638. He was buried at Beckington, where his tombstone remains. 'He was one of the editors of the Polyglot Bible, and esteemed one of the most considerable men in Europe in all parts of learning, especially the knowledge of the Oriental languages.' He was a great sufferer by the Rebellion, but was restored afterwards to what he lost[2].

Of the other Scholars none call for remark; what is known of them will be found in Mr. Gardiner's work. The two nominees of the town seem to have been failures, neither of them proceeding to Fellowships, and one of them losing his Scholarship for staying away from College a month too long without leave.

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[1] 'Athenae Oxon.' ii. p. 207. He appears to have been buried in the north part of the antechapel.

[2] Collinson's 'Somerset,' ii. 201. Cited by Gardiner, p. 17.

CHAPTER VII

HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE TO THE DEATH OF THE FOUNDRESS.

Resignation of Warden Wright.

THE Foundress probably had some idea that Dr. Wright would not hold the Wardenship long, for as far back as April 15, 1613, before the institution of the Society, she had by letter ordained that if Warden Wright should vacate the office within five years the next Warden should be John Fleming. On Aug. 30, 1613, she writes again to repeat her nomination, '*underſtanding that Doctor Wright hath geuen over his place*[1],' and John Fleming was accordingly instituted on Sept. 2, 1613.

Warden Fleming.

JOHN FLEMING, B.D., was a native of Cornwall and a Fellow of Exeter, the West Country College: and his nomination by the Foundress was therefore a departure from her own statute, according to which the Warden was to be one who was or had been a Fellow of the House; but this departure was natural enough when the Fellows themselves had only been in office less than half a year.

The history of the College in its early days was uneventful. The Convention Book, containing the minutes of the College meetings, records chiefly leave of absence granted to members of the Society beyond the time *a Fundatoribus conceſsum*, leave to members to proceed to degrees, and such like matters of routine, with very little to throw light on the manners of the time.

The principal interest of this period depends on the Foundress'

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[1] MS. Letters, No. 3. This is the letter which is reproduced in facsimile on the opposite page. Mrs. Wadham's letters to the College appear to be in the handwriting of Mr. John Arnold, the signature alone being her autograph.

My Good Company

Understandeinge (by this inclosed) that Doctor
Wright hath geuen over his place, and
thinkinge it not fitt you should be longe
without a head, I doe therfore by these my
Letters make knowne unto you that I haue
made Choyce of Mr John Fleminge Bachelor
of Deuenitie to be yor warden, you shall
finde likewise my intent toward him before
this by a Schedule under my hand and
seale, to prevent the inconveniences that might
arise, knowinge none Capeable in the house
yf it should haue happened within fine yeres,
now my will is that presently upon sight hereof
you geue him the othe by me apoynted in my
Statutes and admitt him warden of yor Colledge
who I hope will soe governe amongst you
as shalbe for yor good and my contentment
in placeinge of him. I haue geuen power
to this bearer to see reformed in yor Statutes
what shalbe thought fittinge for the good
of the house, and for other matters haue willed
him to make knowne my minde unto you. And
soe comendinge me very kindlye unto all doe
leaue you to the pertection of thalmightie merifen
this xxx^th of August 1613.

Yor loueinge Foundresse
Dorothe Wadhm

To the Embwarden and
fellowes of Wadham
Colledge in Oxforde
yeue hese.

For Do. Flemings admission.

letters, of which several are preserved in the original, and others by transcripts in the 'Convention Book.' She rigidly maintained and exercised her statutory right to nominate to all vacancies on the Foundation during her life, and to the annual appointment of the College officers on Dec. 6. The offices seem to have been purposely transferred from one Fellow to another, so that the Sub-Warden of one year might be Catechist in the next, Bursar in the third, and perhaps Sub-Warden again after that. Before the first election she writes thus[1]:—

Letter of the Foundress, Nov. 12, 1613.

Good Mr. Warden,

Findinge by your ſtatutes, that on the ſixt daye of this next moneth you are to make a newe electyon for the officers of your houſe and that in my lyfe tyme y^t^ remayneth wholly in my choyce I would therfore that for your Subwarden you admitt for this yeere Mr. Smyth; for your Deane Mr. Goodridge; for your Burſars Mr. Oſborne and Mr. Anketell; for your greek reader Mr. Pitts; for your Cathechiſt Mr. Brunker; for your phy. moderator Mr. Eſcott; for your Subdeane Mr. Stroude; As for the rest if there be any other officers to be choſen I leave to your owne diſcretyon; And ſo coñendinge me very kindly to yor ſelf and your whole Company doe bidd you farewell.

Edge this 12th of November 1613.

Your Loving freinde,

DOROTHE WADHAM.

Letter of the Foundress, Dec. 20, 1613, for putting Roger Robinson into the cook's place.

On Dec. 20 of the same year she writes at the instance of Archbishop Abbot to desire the College to place his Grace's man, Rodger Robinson, as substitute under the Cook, then absent, and to give him the permanent place if he should outlive the Cook[2]. She complains that as 'Doctor Wright to ſerve his own turn, hath hidden his Grace his deſire therin, and placed his owne man w^th^out my privity; theſe ſhalbe expreſsly to require you and your Company to remove uppõ ſight hereof Doctor Wright's man, &c.' Evidently Doctor Wright had given her deep offence, and they had parted on bad terms.

[1] 'Convention Book,' ii. p. 3.

[2] In a minute of Dec. 12, 1627: '*Rogerus Robinſõ habito reſpectu deſignationis hon^mae^ fundatricis noſtrae, admiſsus eſt coquus.*' 'Conv. Bk.' ii. He was dismissed in 1636, for refusing to surrender his office on Dec. 6, and after in vain appealing to the Visitor was reduced to beg aid of the College for the sake of his wife and children. He was granted a pension of £6. 13*s.* 4*d.* from the emoluments of the cook's office. 'Conv. bk.' i. July 4, 1634.

If the Society was guided with, perhaps, rather a tight hand by the Foundress during her life, she certainly made amends by her generosity on more than one occasion, as the following two letters show. The first is from Mr. John Arnold to the Warden, conveying a favourable reply to a request that had apparently been made by the Society for help towards the expenses of the Library[1].

Letter of Mr. John Arnold, Dec. 12, 1613

Pro sigillis et libris concatenandis.

Item alia.

Good Mr. Doctor,

I have follicited your fute for your Company unto my miſtris and I have prevayled ſo farre wth her, as that ſhe hath ſent you to diſchardge Carryadge and Settlinge of your books wth the makinge of your ſeales fifty poundes; and withall becauſe it is the firſt Chriſtmas that hath byn kept in Wadhā Colledge my M^rs^ hath ſent you Likewiſe tenn poundes, wch muſt be ſpent this Chriſtmas in Gawdyes from her as a token of her remembrance unto the whole Company, theſe monyes are ſent by me in gould; and my miſtreſse refers the managinge of y^t^ unto your ſelf; and the acquayntinge of your company with y^t^. And ſo wth my beſt remembrance to your ſelf, and my kynde love to all my good freindes I leave you to God remayninge alwayes to the uttmoſt of my power

Your faithfull freind,

JOHN ARNOLDE.

The next act of munificence was in obedience to the suggestion made by her husband, of which mention is made in his final instructions to Sir John Wyndham[2], and consisted in her making over at once to the College certain property in Essex to which they had a reversionary right after her death. The income of the House during the Foundress's life was no doubt somewhat narrow, the salaries being only half, or less, than that of the statutory amount, and apparently little remaining over for incidental expenses. Mrs. Wadham wrote as follows in Feb. $16\frac{13}{14}$.[3]

Letter of Foundress, Feb. 3, $16\frac{13}{14}$

My good Companye,

I doe ſend you by this Bearer my Servaunt a Deed ſigned ſealed and deliuered to your uſe wherein I paſse unto you all my Landes in Eſſex for

---

[1] 'Convention Book,' ii. Dec. 12, 1613.

[2] v. sup. p. 13. The Essex property left to Mrs. Wadham for her life and then to the College is stated by Mr. Wadham at £400. The present addition to the College income would be therefore somewhat over £200 a year. According to the accounts of Peter Whetcombe, gent., the gross Essex rents in 1610 amounted to £463 15*s.* 7*d.*, in 1611 to £517 8*s.* 9*d.*, in 1613 to £548 11*s.* 3*d.*, in 1614 to £435 4*s.* 9*d.*, and in 1615 to £377 9*s.* 1*d.* Warden's MSS., Nos. 18–22.

[3] MS. Letters, No. 4. Copied also into 'Convention Book,' ii. p. 4.

the rent of two hundred pounds a yere (beinge not halfe the valew of it) to better yr ftipends, wch I would have beftowed as followeth: Whereas by my Statute the Warden duringe my Life is to have but fiftie pounds a yere I will that now by this increafe he fhall have an hundred markes a yere, every ffellow fhall have twentye nobles a yere befide ther diet, Every fcoller fower pounds a yere Every chaplin five pounds a yere and Every Clarke fiftie shillings a yere. All thofe ftipends foe geven, I will fhalbe received as a new yeres remembrance from me, to continue as long as it fhall pleafe God to geve me Liffe, And afterwards to follow the Courfe of yor Statute by me fett downe. The whole fõm amounteth to one hundred four fcore and eleven pounds thirteen fhillings and fower pence, halfe where of you fhall receive att our Ladye day next and thother halfe at michelmas followinge what overplus fhall arise out of those landes (my rent of two hundred pounds a yere being payd me) I will fhalbe imployed for the publique good of the Colledge. And foe hopeinge that you will all indeavour yor felfes in fuch forte as may be for yor owne good and the Creditt of the houfe you leeve in, Soe with my daylye prayers to Thalmightie for his Bleffinges upon you, Leave you all both now and ever to his ptection Remayneinge alwayes

Yor verye Loveinge ffoundreffe

Edge this thirde of ffebruarye 1613[1]. DOROTHE WADHM.

In the following March, Mrs. Wadham writes to make some amendments to the Statutes on the advice of her friend the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

. . . and for the increafe of the Fellowes tyme for the reafons aforefaid I will that they fhall ftay in the houfe twentye yeares[2]; where before it was but twelve; wch I thinke to be very Longe, and I am fure I have added thereby eight yeares more than their Founder's will was. . . . I would alfo that (whereas there will fall out a good overplus out of thofe Efsex Landes more than my New-yeares remembraunce commeth unto) you do yearlye give unto my Cofen Buller during my life five markes as a remembraunce from me, and the like unto John Williams your Manciple, for his faithfull fervice heretofore done me. And foe wth my kind love . . . Foundress' letter of Mar. 28, 1614.

post. fcr. I would have prayers and fafting dayes dewlye obferved in the houfe not allowing any in theyre chambers to breake it, or elfewhere in the Colledge.

[1] MS. Letters, No. 5. Copied into 'Convention Book,' ii, but dated 1614.

[2] The original statute says 'decem,' which is altered to 'octodecim' in a later hand in consequence of this letter. This would be twelve and twenty years respectively, including the regency.

John Buller, the Butler.

Wood says, 'John Buller was a decayed gentleman, heir to £800 per ann. as is reported—put in Butler by the FOUNDRESS, to whom he was near allied[1].' The present No. 1 staircase was known as Buller's Inn, and the 'Non-Ultra Walk' was called 'Buller's Walk,' or 'Buller's Non-Ultra Walk.' He was buried in the chapel.

John Williams, the Manciple.

John Williams, the manciple, had rooms in college and bequeathed the furniture and fittings to the Society, as well as £10 to the Library, in 1628. The chamber book contains an inventory of the fittings, which seem to have been more luxurious than usual[2].

The College estates.

The College was now for the first time in possession of landed estates which it had to manage for itself; the revenues hitherto having been derived from the profits of lands estated for lives[3], and from College dues. 'I hope,' the Foundress writes, 'you have taken order for your rents in Efsex, you must now trust to your felves, and looke into your owne eftates[4].' But with the ownership of land began the troubles connected with it, especially felt in the case of corporate bodies such as Colleges, situated at a distance and obliged to substitute superintendence by bailiffs and agents for the direct control of a resident personal landlord. Wadham seems from the outset to have encountered some of the usual difficulties with which all who have been Fellows of a College will be familiar. Their Essex agent was a Mr. Peter Whetcombe, a cousin of the Foundress, who seems to have been a somewhat shifty person. In April 1615, Mr. Hugh Wyott, one of the trustees of the Foundation deed, writes to his '*very good frynd Mr. John Arnold*' at Edge[5] complaining of the '*untrusty*' character of Mr. Whetcombe; and it is remarkable that the Essex rents fell off in value over £100 in the first year after they were made over to the College, and again another £55 in the second year[6]. The blame seems to have been laid on the tenants, and the loss of revenue to the College induced the Foundress to make a further generous concession of half the yearly rent she had reserved to herself[7].

Mr. Peter Whetcombe.

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[1] 'Colleges and Halls,' p. 609.

[2] The inventory is given below in Appendix to Chapter XI. For a grant of weekly dues to him *vide* 'Convention Book,' ii, fly-leaf at beginning.

[3] Warden's MSS. No. 10.

[4] Nov. 15, 1614. 'Convention Book,' p. 7.

[5] Warden's MSS. No. 7.

[6] v. supra, p. 78 note.

[7] MS. Letters, No. 9. Copied in 'Convention Book,' ii. p. 8.

Foundress' letter of June 12, 1615.

My good Companye,

I am heartelye forrye that now in y^or^ firſt entraunce you should be ſoe cumbred wth bad tenaunts, I pray take patientlye wth me their intended malice, who have had a taſte thereof, though the world knoweth I have better deſerved, then ſoe to be requyted. But it will make me beware whom hereafter I repoſe ſuch cõfidence in, as I have done in ſome of them; and becauſe it ſhall not fall too heavily on you, I will rather lacke (as far as I may) then ſee your wantes unreleeved. And therefore know yee by theſe that whereas you were to pay me two hundred poundes by the yeare out of yor Eſsex Landes, that now I doe hereby give one hundred poundes thereof during my life, to be imployed on ſuch neceſsarye occaſions as in your owne diſcretions ſhalbe thought fitt.

dated Edge this xij^th^ of June 1615.

The Dean made 'Censor morum.'

On Dec 4, 1615, the College passed a decree conferring on the Dean, in addition to his statutory duties of presiding at disputations and exercises, the duties of a 'Censor morum,' with power to punish the disorderly, whether Scholars, Commoners, or Battelars.

About the same time the Society was gently called to order by the Foundress, and reminded of her statutory privileges, on which she seems to think they had slightly encroached by admitting a probationer to a fellowship without her concurrence[1].

Letter of the Foundress, Nov. 6, 1615.

My good Warden

The loue and care, wch I do beare towards my colledge, hath given me occaſion to write theſe few lines unto you: for underſtanding that about the laſt S^t^. Peeters day, there was one to be ratifyed and admitted fellow after his yeere of Probationerſhipp wch according to my ſtatutes you performed, and yet being certeſyed that this approbation and admiſsion made by you is of no effect during my Life, for that I have reſerved all power (for that time) in mine owne hand, in regard of that laudable information wch I have heard of him, I have bene willingly perſwaded to ioyne wth you in this act of approbation and admiſsion: and therefore by vertue of this my letter, I do approve and admitt Alexander Huiſh into the body of your fellowſhipp, willing you to regiſter this my letter, whereby it may appeare hereafter to be mine owne act. Underſtanding likewiſe that the officers of my colledge are to be choſen by my ſelf, I do therefore by this give you notice, that for yor Subwarden you choose Mr. Smith, yor Deane Mr. Eſtcott, yor Burſars Mr. Harrington and Mr. Pitts;

[1] 'Convention Book,' ii. p. 10.

Humanity Lecturer Mr. Payton, for yor Catechist Mr. Strode, Moderator of philosophy Mr. Flexney, and your Subdeane S^{r}. Flavell, and if I have forgotten any office (as it may be I have) then I leave it to my warden to appoynt it. And so hoping that yor whole company will behave themselves religiously towards God, obediently to my self, and lovingly one towards another, wch wilbe an especiall comfort to me, wth my best wishes I comend you to the protection of the Allmighty and rest

Edge this vjth of November 1615.

Yo^{r} ev^{r} Loving Foundreſse
DOROTHE WADHAM.

Letter of the Foundress, Oct. 15, 1616.

In a subsequent letter with which she sent some amendments of the Statutes she concludes somewhat in the same strain [1] :—

* * * hitherto I have had great comfort in you and I hope you will not proue lesse reſpectfull and obſeruant of me and my Colledge hereafter. Your oathes doe bind you unto the good and creditte of my Colledge, and I cannot doubte but that you wilbe moſt carefull to obſerue whatſoeuer ſuch a Bond doth enioyne you: And aboue all thinges I would haue to auoide cõtentions amongst y^{or}ſelues, for w^{thout} true charity, there cannot be a true Society. And ſoe beſeeching God to bleſse you in your endeauours and Studyes I rest

Edge the xvth of October 1616.

Y^{r} loving Foundreſse,
DOROTHE WADHAM.

Death of Warden Fleming.

On March 17, $16\frac{16}{17}$, the Society for a second time lost its Head by the death, at the early age of 40, of Warden Fleming, then D.D., and one of the King's chaplains, who was 'buried in the inner chapel near the High Altar.' Wood says, 'he was esteemed a pious and learned man, a good governor, and an honour to the place where he was, which made the Foundress grieve much for his immature death [2].' She says, when writing to appoint William Smyth, one of the Fellows, to the vacant Headship :—

Warden Smyth.

Foundress' letter of Mar. 20, $16\frac{16}{17}$.

My good Companye

I cannot but Joyne with you in ſorow for the loſse of ſoe worthye a Warden in whome my harte was well ſetled. . . . I have elected him whom yor owne hands (and I hope harts) haue deſired.

[1] MS. letters, No. 11. 'Convention Book,' ii.
[2] 'Colleges and Halls,' p. 595.

The College had apparently petitioned the Foundress in favour of Smyth through the mediation of the Visitor, whose characteristic letter is worth preserving[1]:—

Letter of the Visitor—Bishop of Winchester.

I am ſorie for the ſudayne departure of your worthie Warden, Dr. Fleminge, whoſe loſse I vnfainedlie lament, and pray you may have no worſe a governour then he was in his place. I do attribute ſo much to your generall approbation of Mr. Subwarden Mr. Smyth, as I have writen my Letters to your Noble foundreſse in his behalfe. And bycauſe I am in streyght of time I can say no more, but if you have not made a good choice, blame your ſelfes, and not me, ſo wᵗʰ my loving comendations I comit you to God, from court at Roiſton this 19ᵗʰ of Marche 1616.

Your loving frend,

Ja. Winton.

Mrs. Wadham was now very old and in failing health. Towards the end of the year 1617 she made provision for her servant Arnold's kinsmen being promoted to Fellowships when vacancies occurred, as has been already mentioned. In March, $16\frac{17}{18}$, John Arnold writes thus[2]:—

Letter of John Arnold, Mar. 16, 1617.

Edge, March 16, 1617.

Worthy Warden,

I wiſhe from my harte that I could write you newes of my miſtris recovery or at leaſte that ſhe weare in the mendinge hande, wᶜʰ I cannot, only this comforte we haue ſhe holdeth at a ſtay, her ſtomach continueth well although ſhe be altogether bedriden, for ſhe is not able to ſitt upp Longer then her bedd is makinge, I pray God ſtrengthen her yf it be his will, to whom I Comitt her and us all . . . .

Her last letters to the College are dated on April 8, 1618, and relate to the appointment of Boswell to a vacant Fellowship.

Death of the Foundress, May 16, 1618.

Mrs. Wadham died, full of years, on May 16, 1618, at the age of 84. By her will[3], dated in the preceding October, she desires that her body should be '*laid and buried in the church of Ilminster in the tomb there where the body of my late dear Husband Nicholas Wadham, Esquire, lyeth and is interred.*' Her funeral she wishes to be good and decent,

[1] 'Convention Book,' ii. p. 14.

[2] Warden's MSS. No. 22.

[3] The original will, signed and attested, is preserved in the College Archives.

without any great pomp or ostentation, according to the discretion of her executor. John Arnold, her true and faithful servant, is appointed sole executor, and she bequeaths to him all her beds, napery, furniture, and plate, and makes him residuary legatee after payment of several doles to the poor, legacies to relations and servants varying from £10 to £50, one of £100 to her niece Gertrude Prescott, £100 to her College in plate, and £100 to remain in stock. No letter or formal notification of her death is to be found among the College papers, but news seems to have been sent at once to the Warden by Mr. John Arnold. She died at Edge[1], where she had resided since her husband's death, but she was buried in Ilminster Church, where Nicholas Wadham had been laid nearly nine years before. On June 16, the day of her funeral, a memorial service was performed in the College chapel at Oxford, for which Mr. Arnold arranged that the whole of the Foundation, including the Warden, Fellows, fourteen Scholars, and the Servants, should have mourning gowns. A gown is also ordered for Mr. Alderman Harris, the same no doubt who was Mayor when the foundation stone was laid, and father of one of the Fellows.

Arnold writes again from Edge four days later[2]:—

Letter of Mr. John Arnold about the funeral, May 20, 1618.

Good Mr. Warden,

Yf I fhould agayne repeate a fad meffage, would but ad more forow, you can perceive the many bufinefses that is fallen upon me and therefore may neglect that wch otherwife willingly I would not, I know you intend in yor Colledge a folemnitye to be donn in hoñor of ye ffoundreffe her funerall, and what is requifit for my parte, I would not have you thinke but accordinge to myne abilitye I will fee performed, I must therefore of neceſsity be troubleſm̃ unto my frinds (of wch I accompte yor felfe to be a chiefe one) to procure that for me wch my leafure will not permitt me to doe, and my purfe hardly able to Compaffe, yett will I pinche rather then (becaufe I thinke it fitt) Spare the charge, my mind is to geve yor felfe and all the ffellowes & Scollers that be of the body of ye houfe in yor Colledge morning gownes a note whereof here incloſed I ſend you, but I muſt intreate you and Mr. Every to Joyne in the buyinge thereof, I thinke Mr.

[1] The parish registers of Branscombe, Devon, the parish in which Edge is situated, record that '*Mrs. Dorathœ Whaddam died the xvi of Mai, and was carried from eg the xviij of May*, 1618.'

[2] Warden's MSS. No. 25.

Boſwell will furniſhe you and I hope uſe me well in the ſervinge thereof both that it may be good cloth for his creditt and at an eaſie priſe for my purſe, I hold the firſt day ſet downe for the Solemniſing her funerall at merifield wch is the xvj^th^ of June next, accept at this time haſty lines, I muſt tell you one thing by the way to yor ſelfe that what I doe herein is more out of myne owne volentary Deſire to have all things well then of any Comande therein, as for mony to ſatisfie Mr. Boſwell for the ſayd blacke upon notice from you of the charge I returne forthwith unto Mr. Alexander in London to discharge it, and in the meane time this my letter ſhall warrant it. I would intreate you to Convey to Mrs. Greevell my miſtreſs her ſiſter[1] as much blacke raſhe or other ſtuffe as you shall thinke fitt for a gowne for her ſelfe, and of ſom̃ other ſtuffe for her mayde with two Cloaks for her men, with notice of the daye Mr. Boſwell will furniſhe you alſo ſhe dwelleth with in xx miles of Oxforde but where I know not, thus beinge bold to trôble you doe in haſte comitt you to God.

Edge this xx^th^ of maye 1618. resting yo^rs^ to Comande

JOHN ARNOLD.

Mr. John Arnold's letter, June 2, 1618.

Good Mr. Warden,

I thinke before this you have harde what my mind is in all theſe buſineſses you write of touchinge the Colledge for I wrote you at full the last weeke to be ſent you by Mr. Alexander from London, the contents whereof was that (whereas it hath pleaſed my miſtris to make me her Executor) although ſhe appoynted noe proviſion to be made of blacke for you, yet doe hope you will doe the like that all things that maybe for her honor be noe waye ſhortened. I have writen in my laſt letter to intreate you and Mr. Every to Joyne in the procuring of blacke for you wch I will freely beſtow on you, and for orderinge y^t^ ſolempnities muſt reſt upon you^r^ ſelfe I hauinge enough to provide for here, and it may be when God ſhall make me able towards yor Charge further therin will geve you twenty pounds wch will be att a high rate for me to doe and provide here as wilbe expected you may not thinke ſhe haue left mountaynes behind hauinge done as ſhe hath I will proteſt (yf any man will defraye althings as I intende I will leave the executorſhipp upon him, my miſtris hath not forgotten yor Colledge now at laſt nether for ſhe hath geven you a C^li^ in plate and a C^li^ to remayne in ſtocke for you. I am glad to here ſoe well of my Lord of Winton home I haue sent unto agayne and my Lord Petre with many others, how I ſhall defray theſe things I know not, but in that only ſhall I breake her will, in beinge over lavyſhe that waye, yet for my parte will performe all rites and dutyes that belonge to the

[1] Dorothy's half-sister, Thomasine, youngest daughter of Sir William Petre by his second marriage, married Lodowick Grevil of Milcot, Warwick.—Collins's 'Peerage,' vol. viii. p. 5.

> ſolempnities of her pſon, and doe hope where other hoñors are to be donne and due in remembrance of her, thoſe to whom it ſhall belonge will alſo ſee that performed accordinge to her deſerte. Had I not doubted that yor prefence would be expected in Oxford to ſee all thinges ordered at the time ther I would have intreated yor performinge the funerall ſermon here, but doubinge thereof haue taken order with Doctor Swifte to execute the place the funerall daye holdeth the xvj^th^ of may [1] and cannott be altered and foe in haſt with my due remembrance ſo wiſhe you all happines & rest
>
> Edge this ſecond of June 1618. att yor Comands, JOHN ARNOLD.

Funeral solemnities at Oxford and Ilminster.

The memorial service at Wadham seems to have been as solemn as the occasion deserved and as Mr. John Arnold could have desired. From Mr. Boswell the mercer's bill, which amounted to no less than £157. 17*s.* 2*d.*[2], we gather that both chapel and hall were hung with black serge and baize, on which were pinned appropriate texts, and that the pews, pulpit, and communion table and seats were draped with black broadcloth. The members of the Foundation had mourning gowns of broadcloth, that of the Fellows being of a superior kind to that of the Scholars, and Mrs. Grevell had a plentiful supply of broadcloth, silk rash, and Dutch say. The funeral feast in the hall cost no less than £41. 9*s.* 7*d.*, and included two bucks sent by the Visitor, the Bishop of Winchester, besides other game from the keepers of Woodstock, and what was supplied from the College kitchen through the Manciple.

Of the real funeral at Merifield and Ilminster we have no account. Dorothy lies with her husband, the last of the main line of the Wadhams, in the south transept of Ilminster Church, under a handsome monument,

Character of the Founder.

surrounded by the tombs of his forefathers. With the Founder himself we have little real acquaintance; the liberality of his house, and the ample provision he stored up for his College by wise economy of his fortune, show him to us as a man of prudence as well as generosity, and the unusual conditions he attached to the tenure of his Fellowships give us a high opinion of his sagacity and breadth of view. The Foundress is better known to us. In her letters, as in her picture, she appears some-

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[1] In error for June.

[2] See Appendix to this Chapter.

what of a precisian, a little jealous of her prerogatives, and apt to resent any apparent encroachment; but she shows a generous side to her character in the loyalty with which she carried out her husband's intentions, and the personal sacrifices she made ungrudgingly for the proper endowment of his foundation. In the buildings which were carried out under her directions, and as we may suppose with some reference to her own ideas, we may read a certain nobility of mind and largeness of conception; the chambers are unusually spacious and airy, and the Hall and Chapel of what was destined to be after all only a small Society are on a superior scale to those of many larger colleges, and in point of architectural effect will compare favourably with any but the three or four which stand in the foremost rank.

Character of the Foundress.

At some time after her husband's death Dorothy Wadham was presented as a Recusant, although her name does not appear in the Recusant Roll. A careful search through the rolls for the Counties of Devon and Somerset from 1608 to 1618, both inclusive, has failed to discover any mention of the name of Wadham. A seizure of arms found in her house was made about the year 1613, in pursuance of an order of Council for dealing with Recusants. But two years later she made her humble submission and sued for and obtained a pardon from the King. The patent recites that she is forgiven all and every felony '*tam contra communem legem regni nostri Anglie quam quendam actum Parliamenti apud Westmonasterium anno regni nuper regine Elizabethe vicesimo septimo editum intitulatum An Acte against Jesuites Seminarie Priests and other like disobedient ffons*,' &c.[1].

Her recusancy.

Her Conformity and pardon. A.D. 1615.

For the few remaining years of her life she no doubt conformed to the Established Church, and she was buried as we know according to the Reformed liturgy.

A curious trace of her brief lapse to Romanism is to be found in an application after her death, by two of her husband's coheirs, for the restoration of the arms which had been seized at her house[2]:—

[1] Patent roll 13 James I, part 2, No. 9. Public Record Office, '*De pardonatione generali pro Dorothea Wadham.*'

[2] State papers, Domestic, James I, vol. 124, No. 109.

Suit of Sir John Windham and Sir John Strangways.

To the Right Honble the Lords and others of
his Ma^ts most Honor^ble privie Councell

The humble peticon of Sir John Windham and S^r Jo. Straingwaies K^ts Sheweth that whereas by virtue of lr^s from this hono^ble board in the 10th yeare of his Ma^ts raigne in England, Directed unto the Sheriffe^s and Juſtices of peace in the Countie of Somſt, for feizing into theire Cuſtodie, to his Ma^ts uſe ye armes of all Recuſants w^thin y^e ſaid Countie (according to a Statute made 3° Jacobi therein pvided) whereupon certaine Armes to ye value of 100 mks or thereabouts were ſeized and taken from one *Dorithie Wadham* late ye wife of *Nicholas Wadham*, Esq., Deceaſed ye ſame being now Depoſited in the hands of *John Pawlett*, Esq.

Now forasmuch as y^e ſaid Dorithie is allſo ſince deceaſed and that hee the ſaid *Nicholas* did by his laſt will and teſtam^t diviſe amongſt other things y^e ſaid Armes unto ye said Peticoners being Coheirs unto the ſaid *Nicholas Wadham*, and who are conformable to ye lawes of this Realme; There humble ſuite unto yor Lo^pps therefore is y^t yo^u would be pleaſed to graunt yor hono^ble Warrant for reſtoring of ſaid Armes unto yor Peticoners w^eh of right belongs unto them. And yor Peticoners, &c.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

Account of the Expenses attending the Funeral of the Foundress[1].

of William Boswell of Oxforde
the of June 1618.

	li.	s.	d.
lxxij yards of fine brod-Cloth for the ffellows at 15^s 8^d ye yard . . .	56	08	00
xx yards iij q^r of brod-Cloth for the Chaplins and for ij Clokes at 13^s 2^d the yard	13	13	2
lxx yards of brod-Cloth for the Scollers gowns and two Clockes at 11^s 10^d the yard	41	08	4
vij yards of brod-Cloth for two Clocks at 14^s 6^d the yard	05	01	6
xij yards 1 q. of brod-Cloth for iij gowns at 10^s 8^d ye yard	06	10	8
xv yards di. of fine brod-Cloth at xxv^s the yard	19	07	6
Sent Mrs. Greevell			
vj yards iij q. of brod-Cloth at 12^s 8^d y^d yard	04	5	6
xxij yards of filke Rafh at iiij^s the yard	04	08	00
ix yards of Duch fay at 5^s 10^d	02	12	6
iiij yards of brod-Cloth for the pulpitt and the pews at xiij^s the yard .	2	12	0
ffor the lone of xviij yards of brod-Cloth ffor to lay upon the feates and Communion table	0	9	0
150 yards of Bayes and Serge to hange the Chapell and Hawle . .	01	00	00
iij pap^{r}s of pinnes for to pin one the verfes	00	01	00
Sōm is 1 clvij^{li} xvij^s ij^d	157	17	2

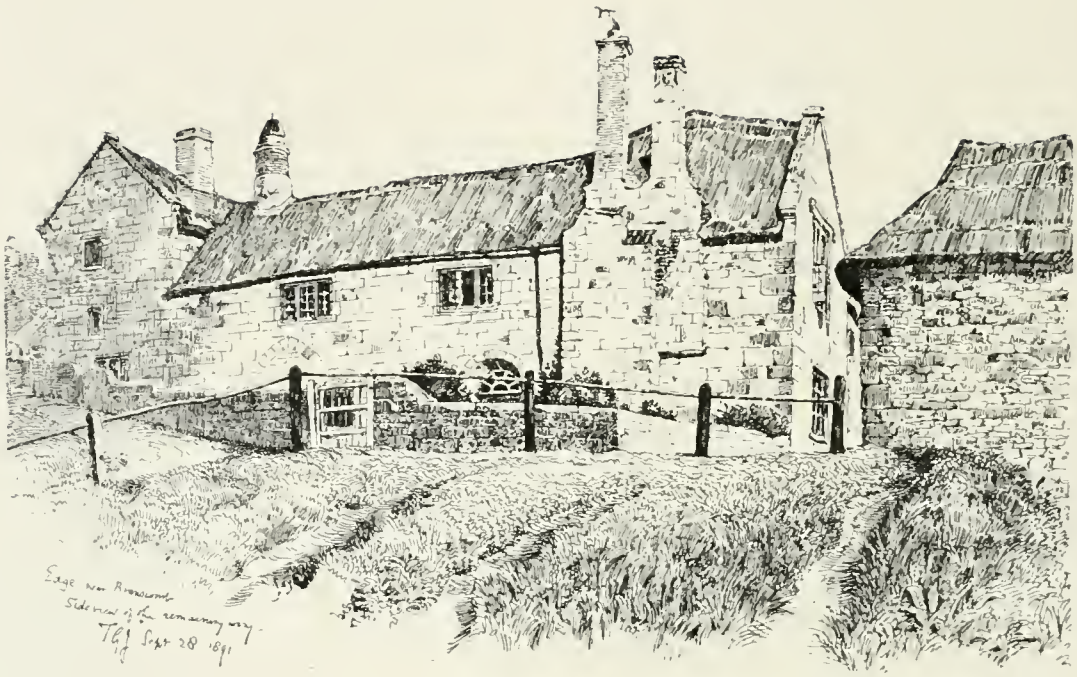
A note of the expenses at our foundreffe her funeral[2].

To the manciple . .	xxv^{li} xviij^s x^d	for glaffes broken . .	ij^s iij^d
To the B. of Winchester's man that brought 2 buckes	44^s	to a porter . . .	vj^d
& for his horfe meat . .	xxij^d	to a laborer . . .	xij^d
To Mr. Jonson's man .	v^s	for difhes loft in the Kitching	xiij^s vj^d
To the keepers of Woodstocke	xj^s	for two dozen & feaven of choucheons[3] at 2^s 6^d a peece	iij xvij^s
To George his horse .	iij^s viij^d	for wine	iij^{li} iiij^s
Trenchers	v^s	Bread & beere . . .	iiij^{li}
tenter hooks . . .	vj^d		41^{li} 9^s 7^d
to Keebles man that brought Crawfifh . .	xviij^d		

[1] Warden's MS. 25. On the back of the bill Warden Smyth has written the names of all those who were put into mourning, which gives the list of the Society at that time.

[2] Warden's MS. 26.

[3] Perhaps painted escutcheons to hang on the black drapery of Hall and Chapel.



MANOR HOUSE AT EDGE.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HOMES OF THE WADHAMS IN SOMERSET AND DEVON.

Branscombe and Edge.

We now take our leave of the Founder and his family, and this is perhaps the proper place to say something of their ancient homes in Somerset and Devonshire.

Enough remains of their older family seat at Edge to repay a pilgrimage on its own account, to say nothing of the charms of the surrounding scenery, which are not inconsiderable. The nearest town is Seaton, on the south coast of Devonshire, now a little watering-place, but in the time of the Wadhams a humble fishing village. From

thence one can reach Branscombe, the village and parish to which Edge belongs, either by an upper road, passing Bovey, the ancient home of the Walronds, or by a nearer way through Beer, a village of quarry-men and fisher-folk, which lies in the next combe to Seaton westward. From Beer it is a delightful walk along the cliffs over a common of gorse bushes to Branscombe, which lies deep down in a valley set among steep grassy hills and running out to the sea at the lower end. Three groups of cottages, some distance apart, compose the village, and in the farthest of them stands the grey weatherbeaten church, its lichened and moss-grown walls so melting into the tones of the landscape that it is not very easy to discern it from the heights above. It is a cruciform building with a fine massive central tower, chiefly of early work but presenting examples of all succeeding styles down to the Renaissance. The interior is damp, and the walls are green with the sea-fogs in which the church is often wrapped, and the drainage of the steep hillside against which it is set. No 'restorer' has yet scraped the whitewash from the walls, or torn down the high pews of the last century, now so rare as almost to possess an antiquarian interest. Those at Branscombe, however, are doomed, for a 'restoration' is impending. Let us hope the old building will be tenderly dealt with, and as little smartened up as possible, and above all that no destructive hand will be laid on the fine old Jacobean western gallery with its massive posts and carved front, which belongs by its style to the days of Nicholas Wadham himself, and was perhaps made at his expense.

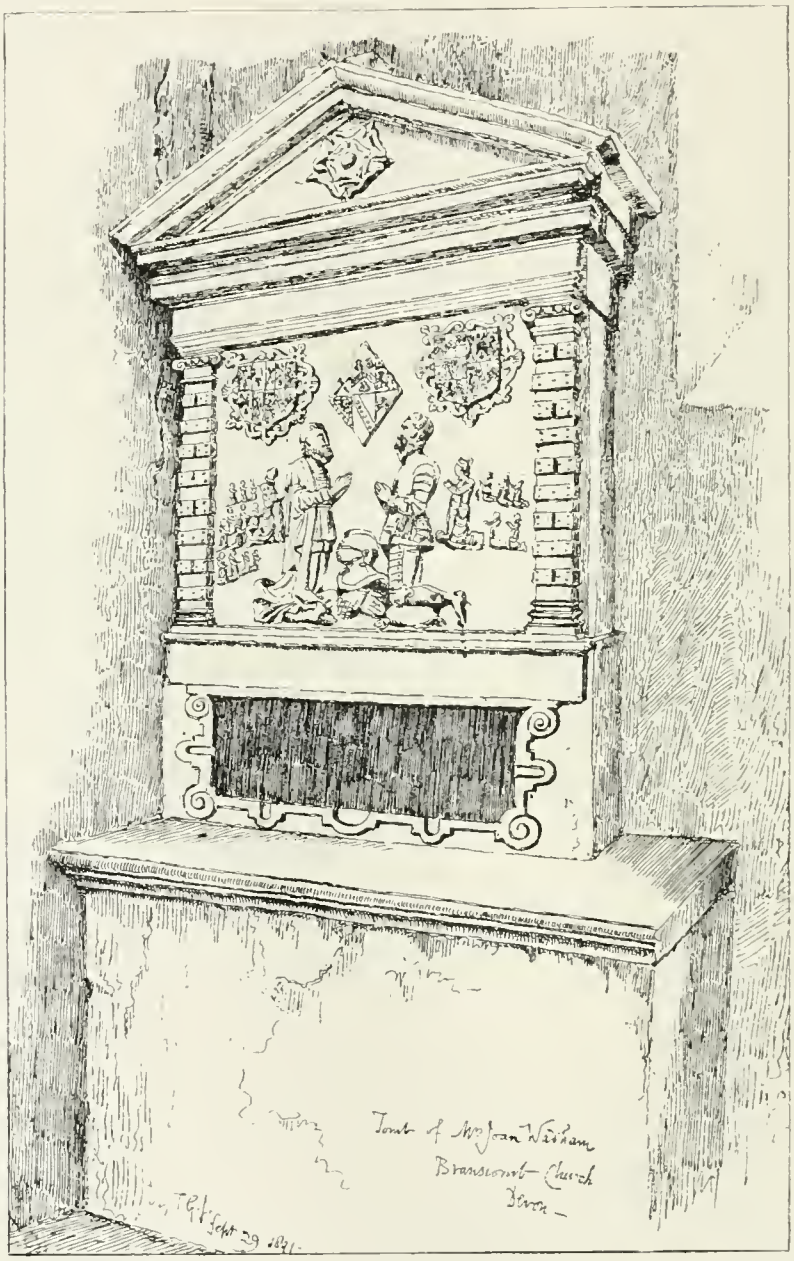
Branscombe church.

In the darkest and dampest corner of the church, against the end of the north transept, now stands the mutilated monument of Joan Wadham, widow of John Wadham, and mother of our founder. Originally, according to Mr. Rogers, it stood under the great window of the south transept, where the lady is probably buried, and it was removed to its present site some sixty years ago. It has suffered considerable damage in the removal, and seems to have been wrongly put together. The upper part is not in the middle of the altar tomb but pushed on one side up into the corner; and the pediment which crowns it, in spite of the Wadham rose in the tympanum, does not seem to belong to the tomb at all, or at all events is not in its proper place, for it has a horizontal corona of its own, which is set absurdly on the top of a second corona that forms part of the horizontal entablature belonging to the columns. Any mason would

Monument of Mrs. Joan Wadham.

have known better than to have originally worked the monument in this way. Damp and decay have continued the ruin, and not a trace

Monument of Mrs. Joan Wadham.



remains of the inscription on the black marble panel which once recorded the virtues of the lady and her descent from the royal house of Plantagenet.

Here lieth intombed the Body of a virtuous and antient Gentlewoman, descended of the antient House of the Plantagenets, sometime of Cornwall, namely Joan one of the Daughters and Heirs unto John Tregarthin in the county of Cornwall Esq: She was first married unto John Kelleway Esq: who had by her much ifsue: After his death she was married to John Wadham of Meryfield in the county of Somerset Esq: and by him had . . . children. She lived a virtuous and godly Life and died in an honourable Age. Sept. . . . in the year of Christ 1581 [1].

The figures on the back of the tomb represent Mrs. Joan's two husbands, who kneel *vis-a-vis* in the attitude of prayer with an esquire's helmet and a pair of crossed gauntlets between them. John Kellaway, her first husband, wears a frogged doublet, trunk hose and ruff, and a long gown with pendant sleeves like that of a Master of Arts. John Wadham is in armour. Joan herself plays a very humble part on her own monument; she kneels in duplicate, a little figure in ruff and puffed sleeves, behind each of her husbands. Behind her are her numerous progeny: on the Kellaway side are nine little daughters dressed exactly like herself in miniature, with ruffs and flat caps, and over them three little sons in doublet, ruff, and trunk hose, like their father. There have been two more who are now chipped off. Behind her on the Wadham side are five figures, a sixth having been broken away. The next to it is a boy, no doubt Nicholas, dressed like his half-brothers, and behind him are two girls, and below him two more dressed like their mother. The figures are fairly well cut, and the whole, though now whitewashed, was once coloured.

Heraldry on tomb at Branscombe.

The heraldry of the three escutcheons on the back of the tomb is interesting, in connection with the pedigree [2]:—

DEXTER SHIELD. *Kellaway impaling Tregarthin.*

Baron, quarterly of four.

1 & 4. *Kellaway.* (Arg.), two glaziers' irons in Saltire (Sa.), between four Kelway pears pendant (ppr.), within a bordure engrailed of the second.

2. *Trethurffe.* (Az.), a buck's head cabossed (Arg.).

3. *Tregarthin.* (Arg.), a chevron between three escallops (Sa.).

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[1] Prince's 'Worthies,' p. 748. To judge by the blanks he leaves the epitaph was perhaps scarcely legible in his time. It will be seen that the date is incorrect. For Mrs. Wadham's royal descent on both sides see her pedigree above, p. 25.

[2] The tinctures are supplied from elsewhere. The monument has been white-

Femme, quarterly of six.

1. *Tregarthin ancient.* Two lobster claws in Saltire.
2. *Tregarthin later.* Same as No. 3 baron side.
3. *Hendower.* (Az.), a lion rampant between escallops (Or).
4. *Plantagenet*, of Cornwall. (Arg.), within a bordure (Sa.) bezantee a lion rampant (Gu.). In chief a label of 3 points.
5. *Chamberlain.* (Arg.), on a bend (Sa.) five bezants.
6. *Pever.* (Arg.), on a chevron (Gu.) three fleur de lys (Or).

The central lozenge, that of Mrs. Joan Wadham, has the same bearings as the *Femme* coat just given.

SINISTER COAT. Wadham impaling Tregarthin. The Wadham Coat with its nine quarterings agrees with that on the tomb at Ilminster, presently to be described[1]. Tregarthin as before.

Parish Registers at Branscombe.

The parish registers of Branscombe are beautifully preserved, and have been well bound in Russia leather by the care of a former Rector. The baptisms begin in 1539 and the marriages in 1545, but there is no record of the birth or marriage of any Wadham. The register of burials begins in 1578 and records the death of the two last dowagers of the family, who spent their widowhood at the manor-house of Edge and died there, though only one of them was buried at Branscombe.

1583. Mrs Jane Wadham wid. was buryed the 30 of Septemb.

1618. M^rs^. Dorathæ Whaddam died the xvj^th^ of May and was Caried from eg the xviij^th^ of May 1618.

Road to Edge.

Above the village the valley in which Branscombe lies branches into three ravines or combes. A narrow road, little more than a bridle-path, strikes off by the parish school-house, and entering the middle valley of the three, winds along the flank of the hill through charming woodland scenery. This road, by which the Wadhams would have come to their parish church, and along which Mrs. Joan Wadham was borne to her burial, can never have been more than the rough country lane it is now,

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washed. For Kellaway to quarter Trethurff and Tregarthin, the coat must be that of Joan's son, not of her husband. Possibly the monument was put up by the son of the first marriage, and the sculptor took his arms for his father's. But should Trethurffe be quartered at all?

[1] At Ilminster there are fourteen quarterings, including the five brought in by the Tregarthin alliance, which of course are only impaled here.

and perhaps in old days was worse kept. After many ascents and descents it reaches a lonely little farm-house, half sunk in the side of the hill, with thatched roof and stone chimneys. A small forecourt with stone piers surmounted by balls, and an iron gate, speak of vanished importance, and there is a good Gothic doorway of cut stone, above which is a shield with arms—two bars between three roses. This is the house of Hole, appropriately so named in its deep dell, and the arms are those of the Bartletts[1], an old Branscombe family, to whom are several monuments in the Church, whose names occur frequently in the parish registers, and whose property passed by marriage of the heiress to the Stuckeys, founders of a well-known banking company in the West of England. Very likely the Mr. John Bartlett, gent., one of Nicholas Wadham's 'servants,' and one of the Trustees for the foundation of the College, was a member of this family. Hole.

Not far beyond Hole a turn in the path as it rounds the shoulder of the hill brings into view a large homestead high on the opposite side of the valley, which is reached after a sharp descent and a stiff climb up again. This is Edge, once the principal seat of the Wadhams, and afterwards, when Merifield became their chief residence, the secondary mansion to which the dowagers of the family retired in their widowhood. In his will dated 1577, about a year before his death, John Wadham leaves Edge.

Bequeathed by John Wadham to his widow, 1577.

> to Jane my wief * * my house grounde and fearme of Edge for the augmentacõn of her jointure with use of all such stocke and stoare of sheepe &c. &c. pasturing and going uppon the same fearme during her natural life[2].

She is also to have all his property and leases in Branscombe during her life. After which the whole, including Edge, goes to his son Nicholas and his issue male; but if he die either before or after his mother without male issue, the whole is to revert to the right heirs of him, John Wadham. For her use in her new household at Edge John Wadham further bequeaths to his widow

> my thirde best bed with the thyrde best Testor, Curtaines, covrlett, blanketts,

[1] The Bartletts succeeded the Holcombes at Hole: v. Pole.

[2] Will of John Wadham. Somerset House. 14 Langley. Proved Mar. 15, 157$\frac{7}{8}$.

sheets, boulster, and a pillow to the same. (*Also*) three other beddes &c. &c. whereof one to be convenient for her gentlewoman or waytinge maides, and the other two fitt and convenient for serving men.

Bequeathed by Nicholas Wadham to his widow, 1609.

Notwithstanding the conditions of the will, Nicholas, though he died childless, managed to get rid of the entail so far as to leave Edge with all its household-stuff and furniture to his wife Dorothy, for her life, under a deed of settlement of which Sir Amyas Poulett was a trustee. And further that she might keep up the hospitable reputation which they had enjoyed, he leaves her [1] for her life all his flocks and herds at Edge '*for the better mayntenance of hospitalitie there.*' On her death or remarriage the whole is to revert to the right heirs of his father, John Wadham. On the same terms Dorothy is to have for her life all the live stock at Merifield, Braydon and Ilton, and '*all my plate and Jewells whatsoever and wherfoever and all my naperye and Lynnen wherfoever,*' and also all the rents in Cornwall and Devon of the lands which came to him from his mother, Jane Wadham.

Edge the residence of Dorothy Wadham, 1609–1618.

Dorothy Wadham therefore had ample means for keeping up some state in her widowhood; and Edge in its prime was no doubt a charming country house. Its lofty site commands delightful views of hill and dale and woodland, with a glint of the sea in the distance framed between the overlapping hills, and the house itself, with its terraced gardens, its ample buildings and handsome chapel [2], was not unworthy of its owners. Even now, though much reduced in size, enough remains to show it was once a place of consequence. Its situation is curious: the house is built actually into the side of the hill, which has been terraced out to receive it: though even with all this contrivance there was but little width for it, and it must always have been long and narrow. All that now remains is about half the back building against the hill, and the left-hand return wing that enclosed the court. There would no doubt have been a right-hand return wing, and most likely there was a fourth wing in front enclosing an interior

Description of Edge in its present state.

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[1] Will of Nicholas Wadham. Somerset House. 118 Dorset. Proved Nov. 13, 1609.

[2] Polwhele, quoting Chapple, says there was formerly a handsome chapel at Edge which had been desecrated before 1772, but no traces of it are now visible. Rogers, 'Mem. of the West,' p. 167.

Description of Edge in its present state.

quadrangle, for there are traces of a gateway in the front piercing the building, which would have been unnecessary had there been no interior court. The back building, which is of considerable antiquity, is much dilapidated and is falling into ruin. In the corner of the old quadrangle a spacious winding staircase of stone leads to the upper floors, which have Gothic doorways now sadly ruined and threatening to fall for want of a little care. On the second floor a door in the back wall opens to your surprise on the green hill side, so that you can walk out on the level. Except, however, at this doorway the hill is scarped away in order that the damp earth may not touch the walls. From this point you reach a high terraced walk on the hill side, once perhaps the favourite promenade of the mistress of the house, and below it lies a considerable plateau artificially levelled, where was the principal garden, laid out with clipped hedges and curious knots after the fashion of the time. Below this again is yet a third terraced garden banked up with a retaining wall, where the farmer still grows his cabbages.

The most perfect part of the house is the left-hand wing, which is shown in the illustration at the head of this chapter (p. 90). This is the farmer's residence and has been much modernized; but though many of the mullions are cut away and a new doorway has been formed in the side, the wing still retains the character of sixteenth or seventeenth century work. It is low, and the roof is thatched, but the walls are of good masonry, and the gable end has a handsome mullioned and transomed window in the upper floor which gives it a look of consequence. The room to which this window belongs retains a good deal of its old oak panelling, delicately moulded and finished, and more seems to exist behind the modern paper. In the corner is a fine doorcase of Elizabethan work, carved and framed in dark oak, and projecting into the room with two sides of a polygon. The door still hangs by the original wrought iron hinges, and has an exquisitely wrought bolt, and part of the pierced escutcheon of the latch. Being handsomely finished, and occupying the end of a main wing, this room was evidently one of the principal apartments, and it is easy to persuade oneself that it may have been the Foundress' own room in which she breathed her last (v. p. 98).

From Edge,—'eg' as the Register has it,—Dorothy Wadham was

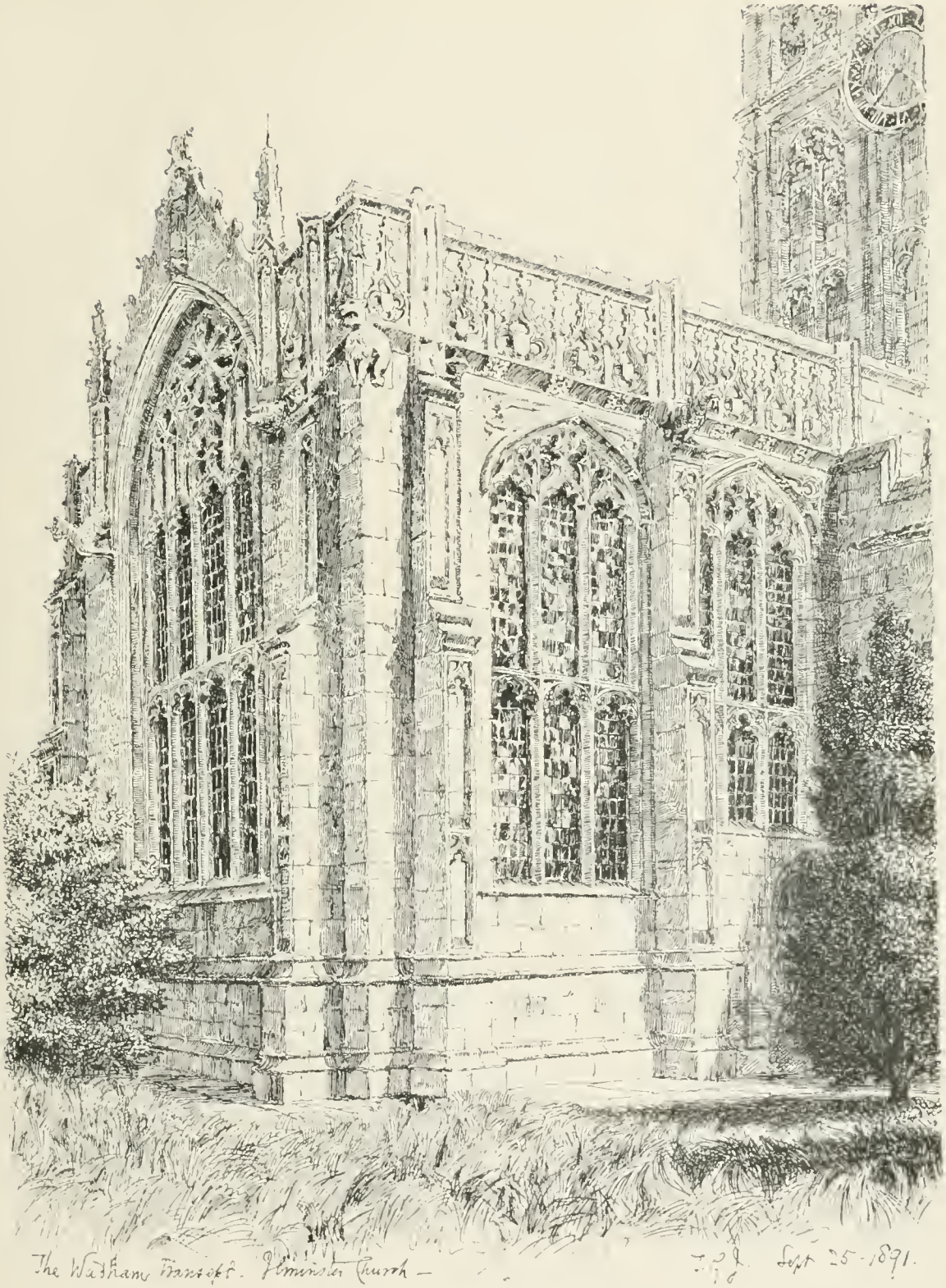
borne on the 18th of May 1618, two days after her death, to Merifield, to await her funeral at Ilminster on the 16th of the following month. The distance across country to Ilminster by way of Axminster is probably about twenty miles. Ilminster Church had been for many generations the burying place of the Wadhams, and the North transept, the Wadham aisle as it was called, was traditionally built by one of the family, and served as their place of sepulture. The Church is a large cruciform building with a magnificent central tower[1], one of the finest in a county famous for fine towers, and the Wadham transept is the handsomest part of the Church. Built apparently in the earlier half of the fifteenth century it retains in its perpendicular traceries more of the graceful curves and flowing lines of the preceding style than is usual at that period, while the magnificent traceried parapet that crowns the walls is perhaps unique in design. It is built of Ham-hill stone, a

Ilminster church.

The Wadham transept at Ilminster.

A DOORCASE AT EDGE.

[1] From the tower the chimes ring out loyally 'God save the Queen,' at noon; at three they become pathetic with 'Old dog Tray;' but recover themselves at six with 'For he's a jolly good Fellow.'



To face p. 98

ILMINSTER —THE WADHAM TRANSEPT

material of unequal durability requiring careful selection, and a great deal of the more delicate work has suffered decay; but on the whole the masonry has stood the test of some four and a half centuries fairly well (v. Plate vi).

The transept still contains two stately tombs of the Wadhams, enclosed by an oak screen of Jacobean panelling with two tiers of turned balusters, and the Wadham crest on the consoles over the doorway. The earlier and grander of the two is a large altar tomb supporting a marble slab. The sides and ends of the tomb are richly designed with canopied niches now robbed of their figures, divided by buttresses with finials; and a rich cornice of running foliage deeply undercut surrounds it immediately below the marble top. The whole is much mutilated and defaced with whitewash. The slab is inlaid with brasses representing a knight with a lady on his right hand, under elaborate canopies[1]. The heraldic devices are gone, and of the bordering containing the epitaph only part remains; but this, taken together with the rhymes in dog-Latin under their feet, suffices to tell us that the figures are those of Sir William Wadham, who died in 1452, and his mother Joan, widow of Sir John Wadham the Judge. Sir John is supposed to have been buried at Branscombe[2], which will account for the absence of his effigy here and the unusual association of mother and son in one monument. As the date of the lady's death is left blank it may be assumed that she outlived her son and constructed the monument in her lifetime. Sir William is traditionally the builder of this transept in which he lies, as the inscription very likely would have gone on to inform us had it remained perfect. It runs as follows, in well-cut black letter, the words being prettily divided by sprays of foliage and the Wadham rose:—

Tomb of Sir William Wadham and his mother, 1452.

.... Simul ⁘ cum ⁘ Willmo ⁘ Wadhm ⁘ filio ⁘ eordem ⁘ que ⁘ obiit ..... die ⁘ Mensis
..... Anno ⁘ dñi . Millmo ⁘ CCCC° ..... Et ⁘ qui ⁘ quidem ⁘ Willms .....

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[1] The brasses are a good deal worn, as if they had once been in the floor and been walked upon. This gives some weight to the conjecture of the late Mr. Sedding, who restored the church, that the raised altar tomb is not original, but made up with parts of a demolished reredos.

[2] Prince.

The doggrel verses below, the work perhaps of a learned vicar of Ilminster of that day, read as follows. The meaning of most of the lines is plain enough; but it is perhaps fair to the reader to tell him that 'poliandrium' means a cemetery, and may actually be found in Facciolati, and that the lines should be read straight across and not in columns; with which assistance I leave the interpretation to his ingenuity.

Cerner sartofagũ valet hic nil non prece fusa
Mater inest nato tumulata Sim̃l poliandro
Culmen opes decus et pbitas nam vita modesta
Sordida binor pietate deus demat horum:

Non nisi Spectaclm̃ memores fore de re reclusa
Cor dolet in poplõ claudere tales humo:
Affuit ambobs pensemus hys ergo duobus
Agmina Scõrũ prebeat flos iungere florũ

Burial-place of John Wadham.

The church contains no trace of any monument to John Wadham, husband of the lady who lies at Branscombe and father of the Founder, though in his will he directs his body to be '*earthed and buried in the Ile called St. Catharine's Ile, or in the north side of the Chauncell in the parishe Church of Ilminster.*' It is known that there was a chantry dedicated to St. Catherine in this church, and it may be conjectured, though there is no evidence for it, that it was situate in the Wadham aisle or transept.

Monument of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham, d. 1609, 1618.

The monument of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham (v. Plate viii) stands within the same enclosure in the North-east corner of the transept. It consists of an altar tomb of alabaster and marble, on the top of which are the effigies in brass of the Founder and Foundress, and it has a kind of back or reredos of Jacobean Classical architecture, also of alabaster and marble, with the escutcheon of their arms and laudatory verses in Latin. On the wall above this tomb, and also over that of Sir William Wadham, hangs the funeral helmet borne at their respective obsequies.

The brass effigies are inlaid in a splendid slab of black marble, or touchstone as it used to be called, and are in perfect preservation (v. Plate vii). After the manner of the time they are more pictorial than the older brass, and represent the figures in perspective and elaborately shaded with cross-hatched lines. Nicholas is depicted in armour, with a ruff, bareheaded, girt with sword and dagger, and with the legend from his lips DEATH IS UNTO ME ADVANTAGE. As this sentiment is repeated in the

BRASS OF THE FOUNDER AND FOUNDRESS
IN ILMINSTER CHURCH

To face p. 100

Latin verses on the back of the monument it may be supposed that it was a favourite with him. Dorothy wears the hooped petticoat, quilted sleeves, ruff, and the peculiar flat cap then fashionable, and has a similar scroll with the legend 'I SHALL NOT DYE BUT LYVE AND DECLARE YE WORKE OF YE LORD.' The epitaphs below their feet have been reversed so that each figure now has that belonging to the other, the result of some alteration in the position of the monument which would have made it difficult to read the inscription had it been left the right way up. That the monument has been moved at some time is proved by the fact that the upper part is not now centrally placed over the lower.

Inscriptions on tomb of the Founder and Foundress.

The inscriptions on the upper panels blazon the fame of their foundation at Oxford. Mrs. Wadham is described as not only the wife, but the daughter of a Founder, in allusion to her father's benefactions to Exeter College, beside being a Foundress herself (v. p. 102).

Heraldry of the Wadhams.

The Wadham coat with its fourteen quarterings is finely engraved on the brass, and repeated in sculpture on a cartouche in the middle of the upper part of the monument. The arms are interesting in connexion with the pedigree. (Plate viii, and above, p. 24).

Restoration of the monument, 1689.

Its present decay.

Either the workmanship of the monument must have been scamped from the first, or it must have been wantonly damaged during the civil wars, for a black marble tablet within an alabaster frame, surmounted by a cartouche with the arms of Wadham impaling Petre, which stands on the cornice of the tomb, records its restoration, in 1689, by Sir Edward Wyndham, Knt., and Thomas Strangways, Esq., two of the coheirs of the founder, only seventy or eighty years after it was first erected. Unfortunately this record of their piety has a second time brought the tomb nearly to its ruin, for the weight of their tablet has proved too much for the cornice, and threatens to weigh it down. Several other repairs are necessary to save the monument from destruction, and restore it to its original condition. The lower panels, which appear of black marble, are only of painted plaster, dating perhaps from the restoration in 1689, and ought to be restored in their original material[1].

[1] It is to be hoped also that when the tomb has been put in order the Wadham transept may be rescued from its present unseemly condition. It has lately been turned into a

HIC JACET OCCIDVIS WADHAMVS COGNITVS ANGLIS
CVIVS CV̄ PHÆBI LAMPADE SPLENDOR ABIT
NEC TAMER IN TERRAS TOTVS DESCENDIT EOIS
FVLGET ADHVC MVLTA LVCE MICANTE PLAGIS
NON CERNIS POSITAS TRANS ISIDA SVSPICE TVRRES
QVA STRVXIT MVSIS CVLMINA TEMPLA DEO
ILLIC WADHAMI RADIOS NISI CONSPICIS ORIS
EFFVSA EST ANIMO SPISSION VMBRA TVO

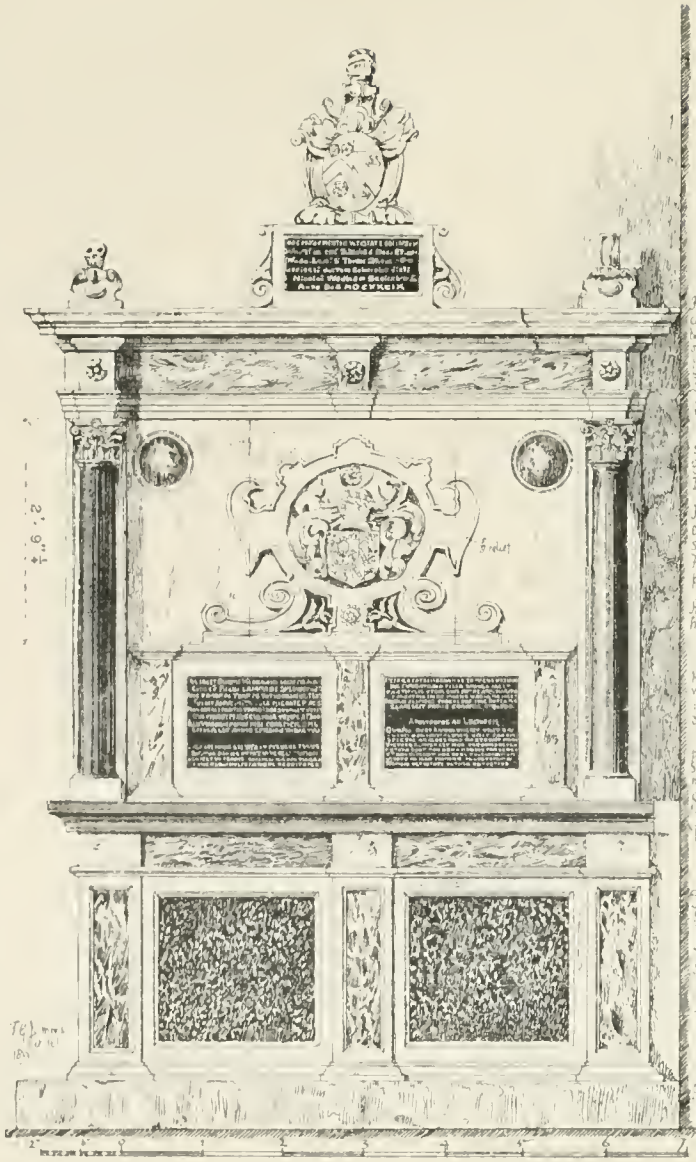
LVCRARI MVLTIS EST VITA ET PERDERE FVNVS.
SIC TVA DAMNA PVTAS VIVERE LVCRAMORI
SCILICET IN TERRIS QVAS NEGLIGIS HAS TIBI CÆLV̄
FVNERE CV̄ MVLTO FÆNORE REDDIT OPES

PETRÆO PATRE MAGNA MARITO MAGNA WADHAMO.
HIC FVNDATORIS FILIA, SPONSA IACET.
PAR TITVLIS VTRIQ3 SVIS, PATRI ATQ3 MARITO.
FVNDATRIX IN SE MAGNA, WADHAMA IACET.
NOBILIS AVSPICIIS, PROGRESSV, FINE, PARENTIS
CLARESCIT RADIIS, CONIVGIS, ATQ3 SVIS.

APOSTROPHE AD LECTOREM

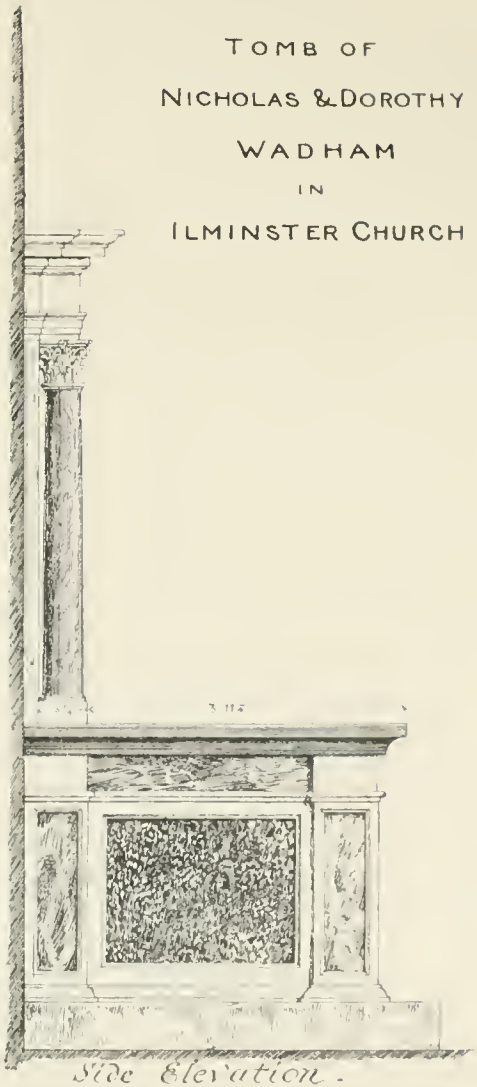
QVÆRIS QVOT ANNOS VIXERIT? VIXIT DIV.
VOTVM BONORVM RESPICIS? VIXIT PARVM.
SPECTAS AN ÆDES, QVAS PIÂ STRVXIT MANV?
VICTVRA SEMPER EST NEC VNQVAM SECVLA
FVTVRA SVNT TAM SERA, MVNDVS TAM SENEX,
VT NON SVPERSIT HOC OPVS PVLCHERRIMVM
VIVATQ3 IN ILLO FOEMINÆ ILLVSTRISSIMÆ
NOMEN VETVSTATE VLTIMA VETVSTIVS.

EPITAPHS OF THE FOUNDER AND FOUNDRESS
(From Rubbings).



To face p. 102

TOMB OF NICHOLAS & DOROTHY WADHAM IN ILMINSTER CHURCH



Side Elevation.

PLATE VIII

A short drive of three miles takes one from Ilminster to Ilton, the village close to which the principal seat of the Wadhams was situated. They owned estates here, including the manor of Merifield, as far back as the time of Sir John Wadham, the Judge, among whose possessions at the time of his death in 1413, 'Muryfeld' appears[1]. The road passes through the pretty village of Donyatt, which has an interesting church. In the modern pews are preserved some carved panels of their predecessors, on one of which is a coat of arms, of which the dexter side is evidently intended for the bearings of Wadham and Popham. The sinister side is blank.

Donyatt church.

FROM A PEW IN DONYATT CHURCH.

The church at Ilton, modestly hidden away among trees, has been 'restored,' and is now uninteresting. It contains, however, several memorials of the Wadhams, whose principal seat Merifield stood just over the boundary of the parish in that of Ashill, and the north aisle goes traditionally by the name of the Wadham aisle. Under a fourteenth century arch in the south transept now lies a small alabaster figure of a lady with a tall headdress, richly diapered with cords and knots, over which is arranged a kerchief folded in two on the front, and falling in lappets on the shoulders. She wears a mantle, and a long cord with tassels depends from her girdle. In point both of execution and design, the figure is very successful, and its beauty is perhaps increased by its being under life-size. Brutally as her delicate hands and features have been mutilated, this little lady does not fail to touch one somewhat in the same way as the pathetic statue of Medea Colleoni, in her father's chapel at Bergamo. We know not who she

Ilton church.

Alabaster figure at Ilton.

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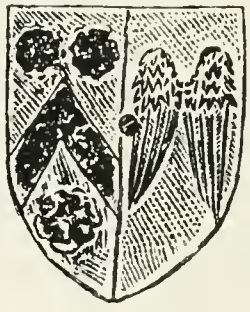
vestry, the open screen is closed with blinds and blocked with closets, the tombs are concealed, and the transept itself is shut off by an organ that fills the north arch of the Tower. To move the organ might be difficult, but there is already a mediaeval vestry of ample size at the east end of the Church, approached by two doorways in the ancient reredos, the return to which, irrespective of other considerations, would of itself be an interesting revival of its ancient use.

[1] Inquisitio post mortem 13 Hen. IV. 'Johēs Wadham Chivaler.' This disproves the statement of Hutchins and others that Merifield was part of the heritage of the heiress of the Pophams who married the grandson of the Judge.

was: most likely a Wadham, and the rose jewel that hangs on her throat may refer to the family badge. It is evident she once lay on an altar tomb visible on both sides, and was adorned with colour and gold, and her pillow was supported by little angels; but she has lost her tomb, the angels are broken to pieces, and scarce a trace of the decoration now remains.

Brasses at Ilton.

Affixed to the wall by the care of the present vicar, are two brasses to members of the Wadham family, which had been turned out of the church by a former vicar to make way for his encaustic tiles, and were



Brass of Nicholas Wadham, 1508.

sold among his effects after his death. One records the memory of Nicholas Wadham, son of Sir Nicholas, Captain of the Isle of Wight, by his second wife, Margaret Seymour, aunt of Queen Jane. A small shield has the arms of Wadham impaling Seymour,—two wings in lure. The second brass is imperfect, and has been supposed by Mr. Rogers and others to be that of Jane, the first wife of the same Sir Nicholas, daughter of Robert Hill of Halfway, and grandmother of the Founder. This, however, is disproved by a very curious document which has never been published. About 1630, Mr. Thomas Lyte, of Lyte's Cary, in the parish

Brass of Joan Lady Wadham, 1557.

of Charlton Mackerell, Somerset, drew up a most voluminous pedigree of his family, which he illustrated with sketches of monuments and short biographical notices. Here we find, '*Joane Lady Wadham, 1st ma. to Walton of Barton, Esquire, Secondly, to Sir Nicholas Wadham, Knt., died at Merefield, Aug an.* 5 *Mary, buried at Ilton.*' This is accompanied by a sketch of the monument, probably a brass, representing a female figure holding a book in her left hand, and a rosary in her right, with a copy of the epitaph which enables us to restore the missing half.

Brass of Joan Lady Wadham, 1557.

This fourth Lady Wadham, who is not mentioned in any of the published pedigrees, had a son and daughter by her first marriage. The son '*in his younger years fell into lewd companye, and was attainted of feolony,*' and his lands were forfeited to the Crown. But Sir Nicholas being '*gratious with the King,*' obtained them back and restored them to his wife. Joan Lady Wadham outlived her husband and died, as the epitaph states, in 1557[1].

The Wadham almshouses at Ilton.

From the village green a side road leads up to the Wadham almshouses, built and endowed in his lifetime by Nicholas Wadham. The building is very picturesque, with its long thatched roof, dormer windows, and four lofty chimneys. (See above, Chapter I. p. 17.) There are eight tenements, each having a front and back room, with a good attic above, and a fair strip of garden. The endowment is but small, each inmate getting only two shillings a week[2].

[1] I am indebted to Mr. H. Maxwell Lyte, Deputy Keeper of the Records, for access to this remarkable pedigree, and for other information connected with it.

[2] Ilton is somewhat overdone with almshouses, having another set founded by a Mr. Whetstone; in all seventeen almshouses for a population of 300 souls.

Foundation deed.

The deed of foundation is dated June 6, 1606, by which Nicholas Wadham conveys the building, a close called Perihayes, and a charge of £42 a year on his lands at Merifield, Braydon, and Ilton, to twelve trustees, '*Sir Willm. Petre, Knight, Sir Edwd. Phellips, Knight, the King's Matie Seriant att Lawe, Sir John Sidenham, Knight, Sir Edward Hixt, Knight, Sir Alexander Brett, Knight, Henry Walrond, Esq., Willm. Gibbes, Esq., John Coles the younger, Esq., Richard Sidenham of Chelworthy, Esq., Marmaduke Jennings, Gent., John Bartlett, Gent., and John Standerwycke, Gent.*,' and he nominates '*his well-beloved in Christe, John Arnolde, Gent., & Thoms Verrier, his true and lawfull attourneys*,' to deliver seizin to these trustees aforesaid. Each of the eight poor people is to have £5 yearly, paid quarterly by 'yeaven porc̃ons.' The owners of the mansion house of Merifield are to nominate the poor people when vacancies occur; in default of their nominating the trustees are to do it; and in their default the Bishop. One of the 'poore' is to be '*lettered, whereby he mai saie Divine Praieres daylie to the rest, and maie be capable of Orders yf it shall please the Byshopp of that Diocese for the tyme being to admitt him thereunto or allow him to be a Reader.*'

Merifield.

Beyond the almshouses the road rapidly dwindles to a lane, and finally comes to an end at a cottage and a gate leading to a large grass field, round the edge of which may be traced dimly some indication that the road once continued further. On the far side of the meadow is all that remains of Merifield, masked by the thick hedge that lines the outer margin of the moat. Within is a square enclosure corresponding to the area of the old mansion, and having on three sides broken walls of rubble masonry, robbed of almost every vestige of wrought stone. The moat, still partly full of water, washed the walls, and was itself faced with masonry on the outside, but most of the walls have fallen in and the greater part is choked with briars and ruin. Merifield fell to Sir John Wyndham, as part of his share of his uncle's estates, and he, says Collinson, 'disliking the situation of the house, because it was surrounded with wood, pulled it down.' How soon this was done is uncertain. Mr. Arnold's letter (v. supra p. 85), shows it was standing in 1618; and the registers of Ilton record the birth of a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Wadham-Wyndham

Destruction of Merifield.

PLATE IX

MERIFIELD

To face p. 106

in 1658[1], which looks as if Merifield were still standing then, for there is no other house in the place suitable to folk of this quality, unless it be Woodhouse, the farm which was built out of the materials of Merifield and which I did not see. There is another old house in Ilton, Scot's Farm, stone built, with mullioned windows, which may also have been made out of the ruins of the great house. Certain it is that the fine woodwork of the interior can have come from no other place. Two of the rooms are lined with old oak panelling with a carved frieze; and on the consoles is the Wadham crest, a rose between two horns, alternating with other devices, among which is a double-headed eagle displayed, the bearing either of the Walronds or the Spekes. The frieze of dragons tied together in couples by the tail resembles that on the stalls in Wadham College Chapel. The whole is very roughly adapted to its present place, and evidently belonged to much larger and loftier rooms. Besides the panelling the house contains a very curious oak staircase, and a grand old expanding oak dining table, at which Nicholas and Dorothy may very well have feasted under the ancestral roof.

Scot's Farm, Ilton.

At Merifield itself the desolation is complete, and nothing remains to speak of former grandeur. In point of magnitude the house was not of the first order, the area within the moat measuring only sixty-four paces from front to back and forty-eight from side to side, and the wings surrounding the interior quadrangle being only about twenty-five feet deep. The traces of architectural detail that remain are confined to a plinth and a moulded base which are not of any great age, and the walls of blue lias are only two feet thick, and do not speak of any military strength. Although, therefore, according to Collinson, Merifield contained parts of great antiquity, it may have been mostly of the Elizabethan age, to which the woodwork at Scot's Farm belongs.

Ruins of Merifield.

[1] Bearthes, 1658:—

> 'Mis Ann Windham daughter of Mr. Wadham & Mis Barbara Windham was born one the 11th day of february and was baptized one the 28th day of March, 1658.'

Mr. Wadham Wyndham, ninth son of the Founder's nephew, and afterwards Sir Wadham Wyndham, Judge of the King's Bench, married Barbara, daughter of Sir George Clarke, Knt., of Walford. He was admitted Fellow-Commoner of Wadham College, 1626. The Registers of Ilton do not go back to the time of the Founder.

In the meadows behind may be traced the lines of the old stews, but nothing remains of the old gardens and pleasaunces which gave so great a charm to the Elizabethan mansion. The spot is a desert; silence reigns where Nicholas kept open house,—'an inn at all times, a court at Christmas.' It is haunted ground. Superstition has woven her web over the ruins, and the peasant will show you in the courtyard an enchanted stone, a mere smooth boulder of a reddish water-worn rock, which no power of man or engine avails to move.

CHAPTER IX

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE FROM THE DEATH OF THE FOUNDRESS TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

With the cessation of the Letters of the Foundress and Mr. Arnold we seem a little to lose touch with the College history, the dry records of the Convention books being a poor substitute for personal communications. The new foundation prospered, and the yearly admissions of undergraduates averaged nearly thirty till the whole academical system was disturbed by the Civil Wars. The frequent occurrence of Wyndham, Strangeways, Walrond, Speke, Strode, Blake, Drake, Ironside, and other West-country names, shows that the College was largely recruited from that part of England, with which it maintained a certain connexion throughout its history, till recent University changes came to upset all such traditional associations. But lads were also sent thither from all parts of the country without distinction. Accident has preserved a letter from a Yorkshire lady to a youthful Fellow-Commoner of thirteen years who entered at the College in 1616 in the time of the second Warden, Dr. Fleming.

Early prosperity of the College.

Its West-country Connexion.

Letter of Lady Gower, 1617.

(Endorsed) To her louinge ſonn Thomas Gower Eſquire att his chambers in Waddam Colledg in Oxford giue thes

Tom: I am ſo fearfull of you now being ſo far from me, that your younge yeares, ſhould forgett your maker, which hath beene so beneficiall unto you. I charge you to continue wth your daly prayers unto him, for the increaſe of them and alwayes acknowledge, from whence they came I writt to you in my last letter, that you should ſend me word, whether y[ou he]ard from your granmother or

Letter of Lady Gower, 1617.

whether you writt t[o he]r ſinc your beinge at Oxfo[rd] and you ſent me no word at all, I have no newes to ſend you, but th[at o]ne ſatterday before christemâs day, Will P . . . ſon k[ille]d duckitt ſon in the fielde, it was ther exeeinge great pride and god hath justly punished them, for the one is dead, and the other is fleed his contrie, and is undone, therfore I charge you to beware of this ſin, and to pray against it, litle Sparlinge alſo of Sherifhouton is dead thus with my daly prayers to god to continue you with his bleſſings; I rest: your ever lovinge mother till death.

Stittnam 29 of January: 1617,

ANN GOWER.

Show your coffin dauers when you ſe him thes lines underneathe, tell him that I would not haue bene a broker for no man livinge but himſelf. I did it from his owne mouth and to don him a kindneſe and now my woord is baffeld. I wish him as much as his owne kind hart would desire but Yorkſhire will not afford it. I pray you reñber me very kindly to your unkell Harrington.

On the back in another handwriting is the following:—

Hopinge of your health, I haue made the best meanes for your ſworde, and canne not gett it by noe manner I have [with the leaſt] ſent unto him three times, and the letters have all bine Delivered to him, yet could I not heare from att all and at this time havinge nothinge to write. But truſting of your health In haſt I commend.

Jn Arnolde was chosen fellowe a weeke since.[1]

(another line erased).

A new foundation in those days of patronage attracted the attention of all who had friends or dependants to place. That the foundress should

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[1] Warden's MSS. No. 27. The letter was found in 1836 under the floor of one of the musæola in No. 5 staircase, 1 pair right, occupied by the Rev. J. B. Dyne, then a Fellow. Lady Gower's writing is in a beautiful Italian hand. She was daughter and co-heiress of John D'Oyley, of Merton, Oxfordshire, and married Sir Thomas Gower, Knt. and afterwards Baronet of Stittenham, near Sheriff Hutton, Yorkshire. 'Tom' became Sir Thomas Gower, and ancestor, by a second marriage with the heiress of Sir John Leveson, of the Dukes of Sutherland, Earls Granville, and Earls Ellesmere. Lady Gower's sister Margery married Sir Edward Harrington, brother to James Harrington, the Fellow, who is mentioned in the letter.

make her poor relation, John Buller, butler, and her old servant, John Williams, manciple, and give Scholarships and afterwards Fellowships to the kinsmen of her factotum, John Arnold, was pardonable and perhaps natural; but no sooner is the College established than her friend the Archbishop induces her to make a place there for his cook, and a year or two later the King himself attempts to 'job' a Scotchman into a Fellowship contrary to the Statutes. In the Statutes themselves James had altered the qualification 'in Anglia natus' into 'in Britannia natus,' and he now writes on Oct. 30, 1618, to desire the College to admit to the next vacant Fellowship William Durhame, M.A. of St. Andrews, '*notwithstanding anie thing in your Statutes to the contrarie.*' The College turned for help to the Chancellor, Lord Pembroke, pointing out that Durham was ineligible, and though we do not know the whole history of the dispute, in the event the College was successful[1]. James's letter is dated the day after Sir Walter Raleigh's head fell on the scaffold, and it was perhaps not only sympathy with the King's victim, but indignation at the attempted intrusion of the Scotch M.A., that provoked the College to add to the usual dry record of admission of a Fellow-Commoner Carew Ralegh in 1619, 'fortissimi doctissimique equitis Gualteri Ralegh filius.'

Attempted intrusion of William Durham by James I, 1618.

Admission of Sir W. Raleigh's son, 1619.

The number of admissions is diminished by the outbreak of the plague in 1625, when the Parliament adjourned to Oxford, sending orders to the University to clear the Colleges and Halls of their inmates for the reception of Members. But the 'Parliamentum vanum,' as it was called from its barren records, dissolved at once: the plague had travelled with them to Oxford, and the University was dispersed. On July 28, the members of Wadham were dismissed 'on account of the plague, then as was thought prevailing in the College itself[2],' and did not reassemble till the following January. Anthony Wood records the exodus of the citizens to huts in Port Meadow, the deserted streets, the tolling of bells, and the general misery that accompanied the pestilence; and also the petition addressed to the king to check the building of cottages by the citizens, to the increase of which the plague was attributed.

The plague of 1625.

[1] Warden's MSS., 28–31 inclusive.

[2] 'Convention Book,' ii.

Poverty of the Foundation.

The finances of the College were straitened during the first part of its history. In 1633 and 1636 proportionate parts of the stipends of the society were taken by way of loan to be repaid when possible 'pro statu Collegii sublevando,' a mode of relief to which recourse was had on several subsequent occasions [1]. As the disputes between King and Parliament advanced, and Civil War began to loom in the prospect, the current of events is reflected in the registers of the College by the falling off of admissions.

Numbers affected by civil war.

From twenty-five in 1636 they fall to nine in 1639. In 1642 when the Civil War broke out they had risen to twenty-four, but in 1643 they are only seven, in 1644 only three, and none are recorded in 1645. In 1642, on Oct. 29, Charles entered Oxford after the battle of Edgehill, the town became a garrison, and the students were taken from their studies to dig in the trenches. A hundred pounds had in the preceding July been levied on the College by way of loan, and in the following January Wadham like the rest was called upon to surrender the College plate to the royal necessities.

Royal demand for College plate, 1642.

To our trusty and welbeloved ye Warden, & Fellowes of Wadham Colledge in our Vniversity of Oxford.

Charles R.

Trusty and Welbeloved. We greete you well. We are soe well satisfied with youre readinefse & affection to our Service that we cannot doubt but you will take all occasions to expreſse the same And as we are ready to sell or engage any of our Land soe We have melted downe Our Plate for the payment of Our Army, raised for Our defence & the preservation of the Kingdome, and having received severall quantityes of Plate from diverse of our Loving Subjects We have removed our mint hither to our Citie of Oxford for the coyning thereof, And we doe hereby defire you, that you will lend unto Us all such Plate of what kind soever wch belongs to youre Colledge, Promising you to see the same justly repayed unto you after the rate of 5^{s}. the ounce for white & 5^{s}. 6^{d}. for gilt Plate as soone as God shall enable us. For afsure your selves We shall never let persons, of whom we have soe greate a care, to suffer for their affection to Us, but shall take speciall order for the repayment of what you have already lent to Us, according to our Promise, & also of this you now lend in Plate, well knowing

[1] The College was never able to pay the full statutable stipends from the foundation till the year 1733; v. inf. p. 121.

it to be the goodes of your Colledge, that you ought not to alien, though noe men will doubt but in such a case you may lawfully Lend to assist youre King in such visible neceſsity, And We have entrusted our trusty and Welbeloved Sr William Parkhurst Kn^t^. and Thomas Bushell Esqr. officers of our mint or either of them, to receive the saide Plate from you, who upon weighing thereof shall give you a receipt under their, or one of their hands for the same. And we assure Ourselfe of youre very greate willingnes to gratify Us herein, since besides the more publicque Considerations you cannot but know how much youre selves are concerned in Our sufferings, And We shall ever remember this particular service to youre advantage, Given at Our Court at Oxford the 5th day of January, 1642.

The College thereupon resolved unanimously

Surrender of plate by the College, 1642.

That all ye plate of this College shall be Lent unto ye King according to his Maties request expreſsed in His Lres above written reserving only our Communion plate [1].

The barren receipt which was all the return ever made for the loan runs thus :— Receipt for the plate.

Jan. 26, 1642 (1643).

Rec^d^ of ye Warden & ffellows of Wadhã Colledge Oxford in plate by them lent for his Maties uſe & Service, viz :

	li.	oz.	d.
In white plate	100	1	15w
In guilt plate	23	4	0

William Parkehurſt
Thomas Buſhell [2].

The quantity of plate for so young a college is considerable, and is exceeded only by that of Christ Church, Queen's, Magdalen, All Souls, Trinity, and Exeter [3].

During the war Wadham men were to be found on either side. The majority were undoubtedly for the King, always the more popular side with the University. Many who were in orders suffered deprivation of Royalist members of the College.

[1] The royal letter is copied into the 'Convention Book,' ii, with the resolution. A list of the plate surrendered will be found below in an appendix to Chapter XV.

[2] Warden's MSS. No. 67.

[3] Ingram's 'Mem.' vol. iii. St. John's redeemed their plate and so kept it for a time, but ultimately had to surrender that as well.

their benefices; and some of them took service in the royal ranks. Ancketyll, one of the Fellows, doffed his cassock and became famous as 'Colonel Anketell, the Priest and malignant Doctor.' Bisse, Coker, Doddington, Blewet, Strangways, and St. John held commissions as Colonels in the Royal army, and the last fell fighting at Newbury. Markham defended Newark against the Roundheads, and Dymoke, the King's Champion, died in garrison at Oxford.

Parliamentarian members of the College.

On the other side Zouch and John D'Oyly were members of the Parliamentary Commission for the reformation of the University; another D'Oyly commanded Fairfax's Life Guards at Naseby; and above all towers the great name of Robert Blake, who after fighting for the Parliament on land was made General at sea, crushed the Royal fleet under Prince Rupert, and triumphed over the navies of Holland, France, and Spain. Against Love, who acted as one of the Judges of Charles I, and died in exile at Vevay, may be balanced Gauden, the reputed author of εἰκὼν βασιλική [1].

Admiral Blake and others.

Royalists quartered in the College, 1642–5.

While Charles was at Oxford the courtiers and officers were quartered on the several colleges. At Wadham, Henchman, Bishop of London, was established in the Warden's Lodgings in 1645, and requited his entertainment by a gift of £20 to the library [2]. William, Earl of Bedford, who had commanded as General of Horse for the Parliament at Edgehill, but afterwards joined the King, is entered as a Fellow-Commoner in 1643, no doubt an honorary qualification for residence. Sir Edward Herbert, the Attorney-General, is also entered in the same year as Fellow-Commoner, and appears by an entry on the back of an old register of burials, to have had two sons born and one baptized in the College [3].

Distress of the College during civil wars.

Various entries in the 'Convention Book' throw light on the troubles of the time. A Scholar elected in 1642 is prevented reaching Oxford for admission till 1645 '*per ciuiles regni discordias* [4].' In 1648 the pecuniary distress of the College was such '*per varios casus et infortunia hoc ciuilis*

[1] Several others will be found in Mr. Gardiner's 'Register' who took a more or less prominent part in doing or suffering on either side.

[2] Wood, 'Colleges and Halls.'

[3] Gardiner, 'Register,' p. 159.

[4] 'Convention Book,' ii. April 17, 1645.

discordiae tempore,' that a fresh loan had to be levied on the stipends of the members of the Society, from the Warden down to the servants, in proportion to the statutable amounts; and the registers show that the number of students was reduced to very few. With the fall of the Royal cause, and the comparative settlement of public affairs under the Commonwealth, things began to mend, but the improvement was only reached through a somewhat severe revolution. John Pitt, who had been one of the Foundress' first Fellows, and had been elected Warden in 1644 on the death of Warden Estcot, was one of the Heads of Houses summoned before the Parliamentary Visitors at Merton on March 21, $164\frac{7}{8}$. 'The chiefest of them,' says Wood[1], 'was Dr. Joh. Pitt, Warden of Wadham College, to whom were propounded "certain questions," to which he replied by reference to the answer of the University in Convocation, that "they could not acknowledge any Visitour but the King, or such that are immediately sent by his Majeſtie[2]."' Pitt had been one of the Delegates by whom the University answer had been prepared, and the case against him was clear. On the following 13th of April the Chancellor and Visitors, after deposing the Heads of Magdalen and All Souls, go with a great rabble after them to Wadham College, 'where they act the same things, dash out Dr. Pitt's name (he being as I conceive then absent), and enter into his place Mr. John Wilkins of Magdalen Hall, lately chaplain to the Prince Elector, and forthwith give him possession[3].' Seven Fellowships and two Scholarships were filled up by the Visitors at different periods in the same year.

Parliamentary visitors, 1648.

Warden Pitt ejected. Appointment of John Wilkins, 1648.

The means adopted were violent, but the result so far as the advantage of the College was concerned was excellent. The number of admissions increased enormously, no less than fifty-seven entries being recorded in 1650, and at no time in its history does the College Register show a more distinguished list of names than during Dr. Wilkins' reign.

Flourishing state under Warden Wilkins.

The Warden himself was one of the most remarkable men of his time. He was the centre of the group of learned men who in London and Oxford founded what afterwards became the Royal Society, and for some time the earliest meetings of the Oxford branch were held

Dr. Wilkins, sixth Warden, 1648–59.

[1] Wood's 'Annals,' ii. p. 552.

[2] Wood's 'Annals,' ii. p. 524.

[3] Wood's 'Annals,' ii. p. 570.

at his Lodgings. Of the original society, Napier, Seth Ward, and Christopher Wren, as well as Thomas Sprat, who afterwards became its apologist and historian, belonged to the College. Wilkins' qualities enabled him to retain the friendship of his political opponents: though he had joined the Solemn League and Covenant he retained his chaplaincy to the Count Palatine of the Rhine and Prince Elector, and after his intrusion into the Wardenship he was allowed by the Visitors to defer taking the D.D. degree in order that he might attend on the Prince Elector. He is the Royalist, John Evelyn's, 'deare and excellent friend Dr. Wilkins,' with whom he sups at a magnificent entertainment in Wadham Hall[1], whom he goes to hear at St. Paul's when he preached in the Presbyterian fashion before the Lord Mayor, and to whom at Sayes Court he presents his 'rare burning glafse.' Wilkins' services to the University were considerable, and Evelyn observes that 'he tooke greate pains to preserve the Universities from the ignorant sacrilegious Commanders and Souldiers, who would faine have demolish'd all places and persons that pretended to learning[2].' His influence was increased by his connexion with the Lord Protector, whose sister Robina, widow of Dr. French, Canon of Ch. Ch., he married in 1656, having obtained from the Parliamentary Visitors five years before a dispensation from the statutory condition of celibacy[3].

His friendship with John Evelyn.

His marriage.

The scientific fame of Dr. Wilkins probably attracted to Wadham 'that miracle of a youth,' as Evelyn calls him, 'Mr. Christopher Wren, nephew to ye Bishop of Ely,' who entered the College as Fellow-Commoner on June 25, 1649. In 1653 Wren was elected to a Fellowship at All Souls, where Evelyn called on him in 1654, but he retained his connection with Wadham, and succeeded Seth Ward in the 'Astronomy chamber' over the gateway, for which he paid rent in Oct. 1663[4]; and

Sir Christopher Wren.

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[1] Evelyn's Diary, July 10, 1654, Feb. 10, 1656.

[2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 289, Ed. Bray, 2 vols, qu°.

[3] Jan. 20, 1651. '*Whereas the founder and foundrefse . . . did . . prohibit the Warden to marry; Wee . . upon divers weighty Considerations according to the power comitted to us . . for Rectifying the Statutes . . ordain and declare that the Seũal Clauſes in the Statutes . . importing such phibition ſhall be null and voyded for the future.*'—*Ra. Auſten Rẽg. Com.* Warden's MSS. No. 126. This disproves the statement generally made that the license to marry was given by Cromwell.

[4] Gardiner's 'Register,' p. 178.

here it was, no doubt, that after Evelyn had dined with 'that most obliging and universally curious Dr. Wilkins,' and seen the curiosities in his house and garden, 'that prodigious young Scholar Mr. Chr. Wren' presented him with a 'piece of white marble which he had stained with a lively red, very deep, as beautiful as if it had been natural[1].'

Regulations of the Parliamentary Visitors.

The regulations of the Parliamentary Visitors[2] from 1648 till the Restoration relate as a rule to the better observance of the Statutes. Absentees are recalled, finances are controlled and expenditure limited to meet income; the speaking of Latin in the College is enforced, and Tutors are required to take care of the money of their pupils 'which by their friends, parents or benefactors shall be allowed them for their necessary expenses in the University.' In 1651 a return is made of the value of the Headships at Oxford and Cambridge, by which it appears that the Warden of Wadham received £63. 10*s.* a year, about as much as the heads of Queen's and Lincoln, more than that of Gloucester Hall who had £50, and that of Trinity who had only £20, and less than the Heads of Oriel, Balliol and Exeter who had £92, St. John's and Brasenose who had £90, and Pembroke £100. Now and then are orders that the Students shall attend sermons and take notes of them, and that the Tutors shall 'at some convenient time between the Houres of Seaven and Tenne in the evening, cause their pupils to repaire to their chambers and pray with them.'

Stipend of Wardenship, 1651.

Wadham a musical College.

But there were 'cakes and ale' even under the Puritan rule. Wadham was at that time a musical College, and Wood tells us of a famous party at Dr. Wilkins's, where he was dragged into performing on the violin in concert with the renowned violinist Baltzar, the greatest master the world had yet seen. Among his musical friends, with whom he held weekly meetings which if he missed he could not enjoy himself all the week after, he mentions Mr. Jeamson, Music lecturer in 1664, and Ch. Hen. Flower, both of Wadham College; Sylvanus Taylor, sometime Commoner of Wadham and afterwards Fellow of All Souls, violist and songster; Henry Langley, M.A. and Gentleman-Commoner of Wadham College, also a violist and songster; and Samuel Woodford, a Commoner and M.A. of the said College, a violist. The meetings took place at

[1] Evelyn's 'Diary,' July 13, 1654.

[2] Warden's MSS. No. 77–119.

different Colleges, 'as in the chamber of Henry Langley, or of Samuel Woodford in Wadham College.'

Celebrities at Wadham under Warden Wilkins.

Among the other celebrities who entered the College under Dr. Wilkins were Seth Ward, who in 1660 lived in the chamber over the gate, Prælector of Astronomy, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter and of Salisbury; Sprat, afterwards Bishop of Rochester; Austin, author of 'Naps upon Parnassus, a sleepy Muse nipt and pincht but not awakened;' John Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley, in whose house the invitation to William of Orange was drawn up; Sir Charles Sedley, the profligate wit of the Restoration; Parker, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, whom James II intruded into the Presidency of Magdalen; and Lloyd, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, and one of 'the seven Bishops,' of whom Wood records an elaborate practical joke, the introduction of a sham patriarch whose blessing the royalists innocently sought and received. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, the profligate poet of the court of Charles II, entered the College in Jan. $16\frac{5}{6}\frac{9}{0}$, and left it in 1661 with the degree of M.A., while still an innocent boy of 14.

In 1659 Dr. Wilkins was made by Richard Cromwell Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was succeeded at Wadham by Walter Blandford, who became Bishop of Oxford in 1665, and was succeeded by Gilbert Ironside.

Gilbert Ironside, eighth Warden. 1665–1689.

Dr. Ironside, whose crabbed writing contrasts strongly with the more elegant text-hands of other Wardens before and after him, was a man of determination worthy of his name. In 1669 he successfully resisted an encroachment of the Visitor, Bishop Piers, who had cited the Warden and Fellows to appear before him at his house in Walthamstow to answer an appeal made by Pyle, a deprived Fellow. Ironside represented that 'there is not a word in our Statute of any power in yor Ldp. of visiting us anywhere but in the Colledge.' Archbishop Sheldon was induced to intervene, and Bishop Piers shuffled out of his false position somewhat shabbily, after the Archbishop had put it to him 'that beside the ill noyse it will make at this time yor Lo^{r}p. will haue the worſt of the dispute[1].'

Ironside was Vice-Chancellor from 1687 to 1689, during which time

[1] The correspondence is entered at length in the 'Convention Book' and attested by a notary public.

James II intruded Parker, Bishop of Oxford, who had been Commoner of Wadham while Ironside was Fellow, into the Presidency of Magdalen. In a conversation with the King, Dr. Ironside vigorously maintained the authority of the Statutes which the King was overriding, and showed himself a strong opponent of the royal interference[1]. Though originally a Royalist, and one of those High Churchmen whom Lloyd had tricked into receiving the blessing of the pretended Patriarch, Ironside, like his fellow Collegian Lord Lovelace, was a prominent supporter of the Revolution. Hearne says that before ever King William had any pretended right to the Crown from the Convention, Ironside as Vice-Chancellor administered the oath of allegiance to King William in the Congregation House[2].

Warden Ironside's resistance to James II.

On the foundation as Scholars of the College at this time were John Pratt, afterwards Chief Justice, and ancestor of the Camden family; Creech, the translator of Lucretius, and Hody, Professor of Greek and Archdeacon of Oxford, who all entered the College between 1674 and 1677. The admissions of 1689 include the great name of Richard Bentley, who was incorporated M.A. from St. John's College, Cambridge, and entered himself as a Commoner at Wadham, where he resided as tutor of the son of Dr. Stillingfleet. Harris, the author of 'Hermes,' and Arthur Onslow, afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons, entered the College early in the succeeding century.

Celebrities at the College, 1674–1708.

Accident has preserved to us a letter belonging to the period of Dr. Ironside's Wardenship, found, like Lady Gower's, under the floor of a chamber not many years ago. The writer, Mary Kemeys, daughter and sister of a Glamorganshire baronet, is known to history as the friend of Bishop Ken, who found an asylum at her home, Naish Court, near Portishead, after being deprived of his Bishopric as a non-juror.

[1] Bloxam's 'Magdalen College and James II,' p. 92, &c.

[2] Hearne's 'Collections,' vol. i. p. 97. He adds that Dr. Finch, Warden of New College, and two or three more Heads intended to induce their Colleges to sacrifice their plate to the cause of King William.

Letter of Miss Kemeys.

(addressed) ffor M^r. George Kemys at
Wadham Collidge in
Oxon.

Brother

this day I receved yours of the ii instant y^r Long filence made us thinke that you would quite forgett us, were it not for ye quarter day [m]y brother intends to travel, & therefore defires to fee you here, if it may be wth y^r conveniance in order thereto, M^r. Evans has 10 pound & y^r mare soe I hope to see y^u suddenly, my mothers blessing to y^u, my brother nancy & my Love to you

I am y^r affectionate fister,

June [the] 6th
1674.

MARY KEMEYS[1].

Wadham College Whig and Low Church.

In 1689 Dr. Ironside was made Bishop of Bristol. Warden Dunster, his successor, has left no minutes of his period of office, and the register of admissions is equally silent from 1668 to 1719. The politics of the College were Whig and Low Church, and provoked the spleen of Hearne.

'This Dunster,' he writes, 'was one of the violentist Whiggs, and most Rascally Low-Churchmen of ye age; never goes near either of his Parsonages, unless it be to receive his money, to ye great Scandal of ye Church and Prejudice of Religion: and it has been observed of him, y^t for all his Preferment he is very poor, being much given to Luxury, and like his crony Royce (Provost of Oriel) to spend all upon his Gutt[2].'

The College continued strongly Whig after the Hanoverian Succession. And the picture of George I as well as that of William III hangs in the College Hall to testify to the principles of the Society. Warden Baker was chaplain to George I, and in 1722 was allowed leave of absence 'being commanded by his Majesty to attend him to Hannover.' Under Warden Wyndham in 1754, John Pester, Scholar, was accused of entertaining

Scholar deprived for Jacobitism, 1754.

principles of disaffection to his Majesty's Person and Government, and on the twenty-first of June, 1753, wore publickly marks of Distinction as fuch . . .

[1] See Plumptre's 'Life of Ken,' ii. 167 *et passim*. The letter was found in No. 6 first-floor left. George Kemeys was a Fellow-Commoner, aged 19. The letter is sealed with the family arms in a lozenge, Kemys impaling Whitmore.

[2] Hearne's 'Collections,' vol. i. p. 291.

and he having lately given freſh proofs of his diſpoſition (notwithstanding all the Warning given by his Friends to be more circumspect, carefull and cautious for the future) by wearing such marks of Diſtinction at the late County Election as by him ought to be more particularly avoided, it was unanimously agreed that he ought to be removed from the Foundation, and in purſuance thereof His name was struck out of the Roll of the Scholars [1].

Improved resources of the foundation, 1733.

The income of the College had been steadily improving since the Civil War, and in 1733 it was decreed, 'that every person on the Foundation receive the full stipend as left by ye will of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham for the firſt time [2].'

From that time the stipends received periodically an increment which in time brought them up to their modern value.

Warden Wills' benefactions.

In Warden Wills, who was elected in 1783, the College found its greatest benefactor since the original foundation. Owing to his liberality the grounds attained their present extent; a fund was formed for the purchase of livings, a necessary element in the endowment of colleges when most of the Fellows took Orders; he also left a large addition to the Warden's stipend, and £1000 to improve the lodgings; and he founded two Fellowships of £100 each for Law and Medicine, two Scholarships of £20 each for the same faculties, stipends of £31. 10s. yearly to a Divinity lecturer and preacher, and annuities of £75 to one superannuated Fellow, and £50 to another.

The history of the College down to the end of the century presents nothing of special interest. Such matters as relate to the buildings will be touched upon in succeeding chapters. With the election of Benjamin Parsons Symons as Scholar in 1803, whose long Wardenship of forty years expired by his resignation only in 1871, we are brought into touch with present history, into which it is not our purpose to enter.

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[1] 'Convention Book,' July 8, 1754.

[2] 'Convention Book,' April 7, 1733.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX.

List of the Wardens of Wadham College.

1. Wright, Robert, D.D. Appointed by the Foundress. Admitted April 20, 1613. Resigned July 20 in the same year. Bishop of Bristol 1622. Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry 1632. Died 1643.
2. Fleming, John, D.D. Appointed by the Foundress, Sept. 2, 1613. Chaplain to the King. Died March 16, $16\frac{16}{17}$.
3. Smyth, William, D.D. Appointed by the Foundress, Mar. 24, $16\frac{16}{17}$. Vice-Chancellor 1630-1. Resigned Sept. 7, 1635.
4. Estcot, Daniel, D.D. Elected Sept. 7, 1635. Died April, 1644.
5. Pitt, John, D.D. Elected April 13, 1644. Deprived and ejected by the Parliamentary Visitors Apr. 13, 1648.
6. Wilkins, John, D.D. Appointed by the Visitors Apr. 13, 1648. Resigned Sept. 3, 1659, on being appointed Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, by Richard Cromwell. Deprived at the Restoration. Dean of Ripon $166\frac{8}{9}$. Bishop of Chester 1668. Died 1672.
7. Blandford, Walter, D.D. Elected Sept. 5, 1659. Vice-Chancellor 1662-3. Consecrated Bishop of Oxford in New College Chapel Dec. 3, 1665. Bishop of Worcester 1671. Died 1675.
8. Ironside, Gilbert, D.D. Elected Dec. 7, 1665. Vice-Chancellor 1687-9. Resigned Oct. 7, 1689, on appointment to Bishopric of Bristol. Bishop of Hereford 1691. Died 1701.
9. Dunster, Thomas, D.D. Elected Oct. 21, 1689. Died in London May 17, 1719.
10. Baker, William, D.D. Elected 1719 (admitted May 23). Resigned 1724, on appointment to Bishopric of Bangor. Bishop of Norwich 1727. Died 1732.
11. Thistlethwayte, Robert, D.D. Elected 1724. Resigned $173\frac{8}{9}$.
12. Lisle, Samuel, D.D. Elected March 22, $173\frac{8}{9}$. Resigned 1744, on his appointment to Bishopric of St. Asaph. Translated to Norwich $174\frac{5}{6}$. Died 1749.
13. Wyndham, George, D.D. Elected May 11, 1744. Died 1777.

14. Gerard, James, D.D. Elected May 5, 1777. Resigned Nov. 19, 1782. Re-elected Nov. 21, 1782. Resigned July 5, 1783.
15. Wills, John, D.D. Elected July 7, 1783. Vice-Chancellor 1792 5. Died 1806.
16. Tournay, William, D.D. Elected June 19, 1806. Resigned 1831.
17. Symons, Benjamin Parsons, D.D. Elected June 16, 1831. Vice-Chancellor 1844–8. Resigned June 30, 1871. Died Apr. 12, 1878, at his house in the Woodstock Road, Oxford.
18. Griffiths, John, D.D. Elected Nov. 4, 1871. Keeper of the Archives. Resigned Sept. 21, 1881. Died Aug. 14, 1885, at 63 St. Giles's, Oxford.
19. Thorley, George Earlam, M.A. Elected Oct. 11, 1881.

(The present Warden.)

CHAPTER X

THE BUILDINGS. THE THREE QUADRANGLES

The original plan.

THE original plan of Wadham College consisted of two quadrangles : the *atrium grande*, surrounded by buildings on all sides and entered under a tower on the west, and the *Atrium minus* beyond, enclosed on three sides by the Chapel, the Hall, and the Kitchen, and open on the fourth side to the east.

The front.

The College stands back from the street far enough to leave a considerable lawn in front, now fenced by a simple iron railing. This space was originally enclosed by walls (v. plate i, frontispiece), and formed into two little gardens, one perhaps for the Warden, and the other for the Fellows. Between them was the approach to the College, walled in on either hand, and with an outer gate to the street. The front wall next the street appears by Loggan's print to be older than the College, and may have been the boundary wall of the Augustine precincts which the builders of the College simply pierced in one place for their outer gateway.

Rights of College over the road.

By their purchase of the site the College acquired certain rights over the road in front. In Loggan's print (v. plate i.) there are posts and rails and a barrier at each end, enclosing the footway along the front of the building ; and his map of Oxford shows a double line of posts across the road at the gate of Trinity gardens, and another at the garden door of St. John's. The latter, which could be lowered to allow carriages to pass, but was ordinarily kept locked by the College, was maintained till 1871, when it was arbitrarily removed by the Local Board, after the College had agreed to transfer their rights to the University on certain conditions which were intended to secure that the quiet of the College should not be

To face p 124

Original work
Later alterations

disturbed by heavy traffic[1]. The rights of Wadham College extended to the other side of the road, for about 1809 the College made and enclosed a plantation along the wall of Trinity College. The wall was subsequently sold to that College in 1850[2] on condition that the plantation and railings should not be removed.

The gateway under the Tower has lost the original doors of Jacobean work, made by the head carpenter Thornton, and shown by Loggan and Williams. They are now represented by doors with tracery in the Gothic style of sixty years ago, no doubt by Mr. Blore, to whom is due also the substitution of quasi-Gothic finials for the globes that originally surmounted the gables. The gateway.

The lodge under the tower is ceiled with elaborate fan-vaulting in stone. The general design is Gothic, but the Renaissance asserts itself in the four pendants that surround the centre piece, and in the cartouche of the middle panel on which is a shield bearing the arms of Wadham impaling Petre.

Chambers, three storeys high with attics above, surround the quadrangle to the north, west, and south; and the east side facing the entrance is occupied by the Hall and Chapel. Ever since William of Wykeham built his Chapel and Hall in one continuous range that had been the fashionable arrangement at Oxford. At All Souls it is true the original Hall was placed athwart the Chapel for want of room, but it adjoined it at the east end, and the modern Hall is continuous with it. At Magdalen the plan of New College is copied closely, at Brasenose the original Chapel ran on from the Hall westwards, at St. John's the Chapel runs on from the Hall eastwards, and the same plan is adopted in the more modern buildings of Queen's. The same idea to some extent governs the arrangement at Wadham, though owing to the necessity of orientation it is not the Chapel but the Antechapel which is continuous with the Hall, and between the two is interposed the entrance to the Hall with the buttery and the Common room above it. The great quadrangle.

Over the Hall entrance is a frontispiece of four superimposed orders, The Hall gateway.

[1] The question of the respective rights of the University, the College, and the Local Board is still in dispute.

[2] 'Convention Book,' Nov. 7, 1809, and Dec. 6, 1850.

Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite, with niches and statues; not the earliest of the three in Oxford, for that in the inner quadrangle of Merton preceded it by a few months[1], but the immediate predecessor of the more elaborate and beautiful tower of the five orders in the Bodleian. In niches over the archway are statues of the Founder and Foundress, Nicholas being in armour and holding a model of the College in his hand; above is King James I, and in the top storey are the Royal arms. The orders though rather short are fairly proportioned by Classic rule, but there is no attempt to distinguish their entablatures except that the Doric order has its triglyphs. Gothic tradition breaks out not only in the doorway, which though it has a Classic architrave has a four-centred arch, but in the cusped canopy over the King, and in the row of quatrefoiled circles and pierced cresting that crowns the composition.

The style.

The same mixture of styles prevails throughout the building. All the windows are mullioned, those of the chambers have obtusely pointed heads to the lights, those of the tower are cusped, those of the Hall and Antechapel have traceries, though to be sure they are of a form unknown to mediæval art, and all the doorways and arches are four-centred. All this is Gothic, as well as the high-pitched gabled roofs and battlemented parapets. It is in the more purely decorative features that Classic forms creep in,—in the frontispiece over the Hall doorway, in the two side doorways, of which one leads to the Chapel and the other is a sham put in for symmetry; in the details of the woodwork of screens and stalls in the Chapel, and those of the buttery screen in the Hall, though the Renaissance stall-work of the Chapel choir is surmounted by ranges of windows in almost pure Perpendicular Gothic. Setting on one side these choir windows, the rest of the building inclines towards the Classic side of the English Renaissance more decidedly than the Schools quadrangle which in point of date followed it. The great Schools tower with its cusped and transomed oriels, its angle turret and spirelet, and the rib and panel vaulting of its lower storey with its bosses at the intersection of the ribs, is far nearer to Gothic than Classic, while the other sides of the quadrangle,

[1] Hoc anno circa festũ Michaelis, 1610, ĩpofuimus finẽ aedificio noftro quadrangulari verſ̃ auſtrũ, q̃d inchoavimꝰ die carnis-privij pẋime p̃cedente.—MS. Register of Merton College.

especially the panelled and arcaded front of the Library and its great window, bear no trace of Classic influence[1] whatever.

The three statues are restored copies of the original 'pictures' put up in Burford stone by John Blackshaw, the chief mason, for which, exclusive of material, he was paid in all £11 [2]. Supposing them to have been faithfully copied they were never great works of art, but it is interesting to find that the difference of mason and sculptor, unknown during the middle ages except as implying greater or less degree of skill in working stone, was not yet defined in the seventeenth century, so that the mason who made the kitchen vault was also the sculptor of the statues. The statues.

Between the figures of the Founder and the Foundress is this inscription—

AN . DOM . 1613 . APR 20
SVB AVSPICIIS R. JACOBI
HOSPES
QVAM VIDES DOMVM MVSIS NVNCVPATAM PONENDAM
MANDABAT NICHOLAVS WADHAM. SOMERSETENSIS
ARMIGER . VERVM ILLE FATO PRÆREPTVS DOROTHEÆ
CONJVGI PERFICIENDAM LEGABAT . ILLA INCVNCTANTER
PERFECIT . MAGNIFICEQVE SVMPTIBVS SVIS AVXIT
TV SVMME PATER ADSIS PROPITIVS TVOQVE MVNERI ADDAS
QVÆSVMVS . PERPETVITATEM.

The velvet lawn that now adds so much to the charm of this quadrangle is not original. For a long time the court was gravelled, though Loggan's print seems to show small plots of grass between the pathways. A charge for gravelling the courts appears in the building accounts for June, 1613: in 1769 it was agreed to 'new gravel the quadrangle and lay with new stone such parts of the gutter as want it,' and it is not till 1809 that we hear of a grass-plat there. It was then 'Resolved that in consequence of the Turf placed in the Quadrangle and of the shrubs lately The grass plat.

[1] Sir Thomas Bodley's Library which forms the west side of the old Schools quadrangle was begun in 1610, the first stone being laid on July 16th. It was finished in 1612. The first stone of the other three sides was laid March 30, 1613, the day after Sir Thomas Bodley's funeral in Merton Chapel.

[2] Building Accounts, 161$\frac{2}{3}$. Feb. 27, £3. Mar. 6, £3. Mar. 20, £2. Mar. 27, '*for the last of his Statuts*,' £3.

planted near the wall of Trinity College two pounds be added to the yearly wages of the Gardener[1].'

The back quadrangle.

Besides the main quadrangle with the Chapel and Library wings projecting from it, the College has now three staircases, Nos. IX, X, XI, running southwards from the main building and facing Park street. These buildings, which with an archway leading to the back quadrangle, occupy the whole frontage from the College to the King's Arms Hotel, are much more recent than the main building, and some are almost modern. There were, however, several buildings standing on this part of the site when it was purchased, and the College seems from the first to have made use of some of them as chambers. At the northern end, next to the College, was a humble building of timber, rough cast, built on the old boundary wall[2]. This occupied the site of No. IX. Next to this southwards was an arched gateway, the predecessor of the present back gate[3], and beyond that was a three-storeyed building with gablets and mullioned windows, which is illustrated by Skelton[4]. This building had square windows, with depressed four-centred heads to the lights, and hood-moulds of the 'windlass' type, and it cannot have been much older than the College. It was probably one of the tenements mentioned in the deeds as then recently built out of the ruins of the Priory by the various tenants, who were allowed by their leases to dig stones on their holdings. This must be the building referred to in Bursar Lee's list of 1654 as 'ye Back lodgings,' containing ground and middle chambers, and cocklofts. It occupied the site of the present No. X. Southward of this again, between it and the King's Arms, were three cottages, of which the first, a humble timber-built and roughcast tenement, was a public house with the sign of a Lion couchant[5].

Building of Staircase No. IX, 1693-4.

All these buildings have now disappeared, though some survived till this century. In 1693 the building next the College was pulled down,

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[1] 'Convention Book,' June 26, 1769; Nov. 7, 1809; Dec. 6, 1850.

[2] This is shown in Loggan's print: v. Frontispiece to this volume.

[3] The old archway is shown in Skelton. It stood till 1820, when '*it was resolved to take down the pointed arch now over the gateway leading from the street into the Back Buildings.*'—'Convention Book,' Apr. 7, 1820.

[4] Skelton's 'Oxon. Ant. Rest.' vol. ii. plate 153. The original drawing for this plate is in Dr. Griffiths' collection in the Warden's lodgings.

[5] v. Skelton's plate as above.

and the present No. IX erected in its place[1]. It forms a detached house, standing forward and flanking the front of the College; and by the print in the Oxford Almanack for 1738 it appears that a corresponding building, —perhaps a house for the Warden,—was contemplated at the other end of the façade, with an elaborate fence of stone piers surmounted by urns and iron railings between them. The design, which has been traditionally attributed to Wren, was only carried out so far as the erection of No. IX. Unfortunately the period of its erection is that of Warden Dunster, during whose reign no minutes were kept, and therefore the Convention books give no information about this, the only serious piece of building the College has undertaken since its foundation[2]. The earliest mention of the 'New buildings' is in 1773, when it was resolved to assign the two garrets to Scholars.

The 'old building'—that illustrated by Skelton,—is occasionally mentioned in the minutes. In 1768 it was reslated, the roof thoroughly repaired, and the walls new pointed. In 1780 the rent of its ground and middle chambers (the latter lately vacated by Mr. White) was fixed at £4 each, and that of the garrets at £2 each. In 1801, however, The 'old building,'

> it was agreed to convert that part of the College called the Old Building, now in a ruinous and dilapidated state, into a Brewhouse, and a Bakehouse, and to make such arrangements and alterations as shall be necessary for the same. pulled down 1801 to build a Brewhouse.

Consequently in that year, as we are informed in Skelton's 'Oxon. Ant. Rest.,' this old building was pulled down, the last remnant, according to him, of the Augustine friary, though there is nothing in his drawing of it to warrant any such antiquity.

The three cottages between this and the King's Arms were let to the University. A lease of seven years, which elapsed at Ladyday 1796, was then renewed at a rent of £25 a year for twenty years from that date. But in the following June it was agreed Sale of three cottages to the University, 1796.

> to sell under the Act ii Geo. 3 called the Oxford paving Act the Fee of the Three Cottages between the King's Arms and Wadham College to the

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[1] Wood, 'Colleges and Halls,' p. 599, says it was begun in 1693 and finished in 1694.

[2] The minutes are discontinued from the election of Warden Dunster, Oct. 21, 1689, till the election of Warden Baker, May 23, 1719.

> University * * * setting the rent at £25 per ann, and rating the Fee at 8 years purchase above the value of the said lately granted Lease; and rating the annual Quit rent of £2. 15s. 0d. now paid therefrom at 30 years purchase [1].

The Stereotype foundry.

The College seal was set to the conveyance on Nov. 5 in the same year, and the University at once proceeded to build on the site of the cottages a foundry and warehouse for carrying on the then novel art of stereotyping, of which they had lately bought the secret for £4000 from Mr. Andrew Wilson, who was acting in conjunction with Lord Stanhope.

Re-purchased by the College 1828, and made Staircase No. XI.

In 1828 'the building known as the University Stereotype Foundery' was bought back by the College for £1081, and it was resolved

> That the late Bible Warehouse or Stereotype Foundery * * be converted into College Rooms according to a Plan and estimate made by Mr. John Hudson, and dated April 4, 1828 * * that the yearly rent of these new Rooms be £15, and that the rent of all other rooms be raised to the same sum, the increased rent being payable for the Quarter ending at Midsummer, 1828.

Staircase No. X.

At the same time it was resolved to convert the Brewhouse into College rooms to be let at £15 a year, and to build a new Brewhouse elsewhere. The creation of these two staircases, Nos. X and XI, brought the College to its present extent in point of accommodation, but left a good deal to be

The back quadrangle.

desired in the Back court by which these new buildings are approached. Till a few years ago the back gardens of the houses in Holywell ran up to the old wall within a few feet of the College, which had from the first formed the southern boundary of the premises. Close courts of cottages and untidy yards where pigs were kept and slaughtered came within a few yards of the College windows, and the space within the wall was further curtailed by the erection of stables and the enclosure of a stable-yard for the Warden in 1731 [2]. This left only a narrow lane along the south side of the College, and destroyed almost the last traces of 'the Grove' men-

[1] 'Convention Book,' June 30, 1796.

[2] . . . '*to cut down the first row of trees in the Grove facing the King's Arms garden wall to make a way to a coach-house which he (Mr. Warden) is to erect there for his own use and at his own expense, the trees being allowed for that purpose.*'—'Conv. book,' Apr. 17, 1731. The Warden's stables do not seem to have been brought here till later. In 1826, March 31, it was resolved to carry out a design of Mr. Daniel Robertson, Architect, for '*a new stable and other outhouses and buildings for the use of the Warden instead of those standing near his Lodgings, which have long been in the greatest dilapidation and decay.*'

tioned in the title deeds. Later on, when staircases X and XI were formed, this lane was continued round the stable-yard to reach them.

Formation of the back quadrangle, 1876.

In 1876 it was resolved to carry out an improvement of this part of the College which had been for some time under consideration. A spacious back quadrangle was formed by pulling down many of the cottages and taking in their gardens, the south boundary wall being thrown back eighty-three feet, and the new area laid down with gravel and turf[1]. Should the increasing number of the members of Wadham College ever require, as seems likely, more rooms within the College walls, the natural mode of extension will be to complete this quadrangle by building along the frontage to Holywell-street. The corner where Park-street and Holywell-street meet offers a grand opportunity for an effective design, and if the south front were set back from the street, with a grass-plat in front, the new façade would be well seen, and Holywell-street much improved. This would still leave room for a quadrangle much larger than the old one, and the effect of the interior, bounded on two, perhaps ultimately on three sides, by new buildings, and on the fourth by the picturesque gables of the old quadrangle and the fine end window of the Hall, might be made equal to anything in Oxford.

Possible extension of College.

[1] 'Convention Book,' June 19, 1874, Resolution moved by Mr. Jackson, and June 24, 1876.

CHAPTER XI

THE CHAMBERS.

The Collegiate plan.

THE chambers at Wadham College are arranged on the usual Collegiate plan, which had from the very first been followed in both Universities. Instead of the conventual plan of long interior corridors with cells opening from them on one or both sides, the Colleges were designed as a series of houses, attached but independent, each with its own door and staircase in the middle and chambers on either hand, and each separated by a partition wall from the next house. In this we may perhaps trace the influence of the old halls or hostels in which students were lodged before colleges existed, and which were generally ordinary private houses of the burghers leased or purchased for academic purposes. To form a college several halls or houses were bought up and used together, and when as time went on colleges had buildings specially designed for them, the old plan, originating in accident, but approved by experience, was continued as the most convenient.

Several occupants of each chamber.

Although the accommodation in the colleges was no doubt from the first an improvement on that in the Halls or Hostels, where the students were often ill-lodged and overcrowded, it was never till quite modern times thought necessary that any one of the inmates, except the highest dignitaries, should have a room to himself. Each set of rooms was designed to be occupied by several persons. The Statutes[1] of Merton (1270), and Oriel (1326), provide that in each chamber one Fellow or

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[1] v. 'Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford,' printed by H. M. Commissioners, 1853. Vol. i. Merton, p. 13; Oriel, p. 7; Queen's, p. 19; New College, p. 88; All Souls, p. 72. The same, vol. ii. Magdalen, p. 72; Brasenose, p. 34; Corpus, p. 80. The same, vol. iii. Worcester, p. 41.

Scholar shall be older than the rest to maintain order. At Queen's (1340), two at least are to be lodged together, unless the rank and position of any Scholar entitle him to have a room to himself. At New College (1400), there were to be three Fellows or Scholars in each upper room where there were three studies, and four in each lower room with four studies; every one to have a separate bed and one Fellow to be older than his 'camerales' to keep order. At All Souls, by a Visitor's Injunction of 1445, the eight Senior Fellows had rooms to themselves, the rest were to be two or three in a room. At Magdalen (1479), Bishop Waynflete puts four in each upper chamber, of whom two have 'lecti principales,' and the others beds on wheels, 'lecti rotales, Trookyll beddys vulgariter appellati,' which were pushed under the others in the day-time[1]. At Brasenose (1521), there were to be three Fellows and Scholars in the upper, and four in the lower rooms. At Corpus (1517), the number of occupants of a set of chambers was limited to two, a decided step in the direction of convenience: a Fellow and a Scholar were to be together, the Fellow in a high bed and the Scholar in a truckle bed. The same regulations prevailed at Cambridge[2], and continued at both Universities as late as the seventeenth or even the eighteenth century, for the Statutes of Worcester College (1714) contemplate two Fellows 'at most' sharing a chamber, and at St. John's College, Cambridge, Ambrose Bonwick, admitted Aug. 24, 1710, 'had an agreeable Chamber-fellow, a very good Scholar, a sober and innocent yet chearful companion[3].'

Fellows and Scholars three or four in a room.

The custom of lodging two or three in a chamber, or set of rooms as we should call them, made special arrangement of the interior necessary, and even affected the architectural features of the exterior. If the disposition of the windows in most of the Colleges be observed, it will be noticed that they come in a regular order, first two single lights rather near one another, then a large window of two or three lights, then generally the staircase window of two lights, then another large window, and then two single lights again. This system is the result of the interior

Effect of this on Collegiate architecture.

[1] In the Howard Household Accounts of 1629 (p. 265), they are called *trynnell-bords*; for *trundling* under the others.

[2] Willis and Clark's 'Cambridge,' vol. iii. p. 297, &c. Their chapter on Chambers and Studies is especially valuable, and I am largely indebted to it.

[3] Willis and Clark, iii. 303.

Cubiculum and musaeola.

divisions of the *cubiculum* and *musaeola* of which each set consists. There is one large room with a fireplace, a common living room by day and a common dormitory by night, and opening from it are studies, two or three or sometimes only one, to which the inmates retired apart for their work. The 'musaeola' had each a single light window, and the large windows lighted the common living and sleeping room.

This regular sequence of large and small windows can be seen nowhere more plainly than at Wadham, where the greater number of cubicula had three studies apiece, two across the far end of the room and one under the stairs. The provision of space, however, was for that period unusually liberal, for the Statutes ordain that 'each Fellow have for his own use one chamber (*cubiculum*), with all its studies (*musaeolis*), that one which shall please him best, observing order of seniority in the choosing.'

At Wadham Fellows lodged separately.

Scholars three in a room.

The Scholars, however, were to be housed three in a room[1]. No rule for the number of Commoners and Battellars in a room is laid down; but since, after rooms had been allotted to the members of the Foundation, the rest of the chambers were to be let at forty shillings a year, the Commoners and Battellars probably either lived three in a room or took a whole set to themselves according to their pecuniary means and social position. The furniture of Spartan simplicity which sufficed for the habits of those days seems to have been provided by the College:

Furniture and inventory.

> I will, (says the Foundress)[2], that of the tables, benches, bed-tressels[3], and all other furniture placed in the several chambers at my expense or that of the said College, an inventory be made to be kept by the Bursars, ordaining that no one take away, change, burn, or wilfully damage any of the said utensils or furniture, unless he leave a better one in its stead at his own expense[4].

Every year the incoming Bursars are to check this inventory and require deficiencies to be made good, and the same is to be done when any inmate finally leaves the College. Several of these inventories are entered in the chamber books, with corrections at each change of tenancy, and specimens of them will be found in the appendix to this chapter.

The walls were probably plastered,—certainly the cross walls were so,

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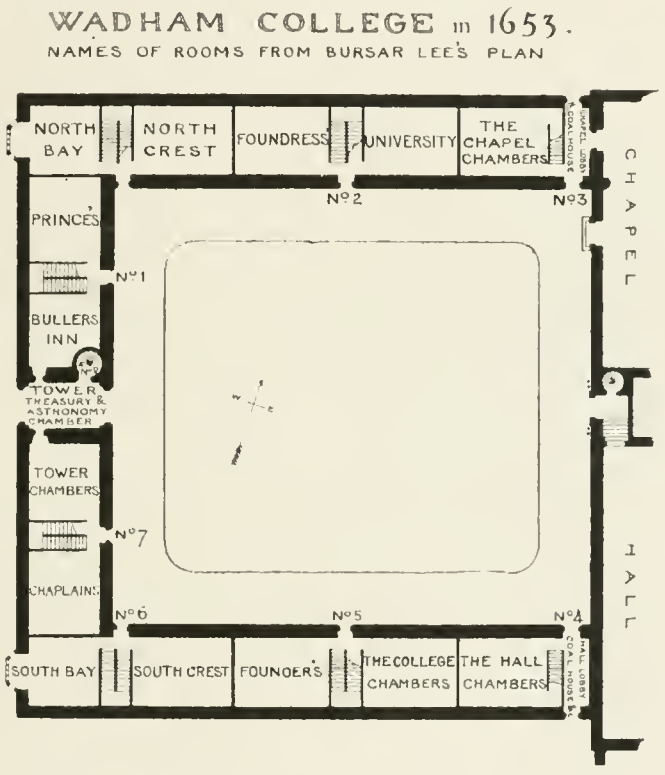
[1] Statutes, Cap. 26: 'Scholares autem ternos volo habitare in singulis cubiculis.'
[2] Ibid. [3] 'Lectorum fulcra.' [4] Statutes, Cap. 26.

being only of timber, and the front and back wall most likely followed suit. Their bareness may have been hidden by hangings of 'green say, dornicks, or perpetuana,' of which frequent mention is made in contemporary inventories; but at Wadham, in at least one instance, the walls were ornamented with arabesques painted in colour on the plaster between the timber studds, of which a fragment is preserved in the bedroom of the second floor chamber next the Hall[1].

Partitions.

All the partitions and cross walls dividing one house or staircase from another were of timbering plastered. Originally there was not a single internal party wall between the Tower and Hall on one side, and the Tower and Chapel on the other. A few were constructed between 1747 and 1776 with part of Lord Wyndham's bequest, his Lordship having 'designed the building Partition walls, He having frequently in his life time taken notice of the want of such[2]:' but the greater part of the partitions remain of timber and plaster to this day.



Names of Staircases.

The staircases were not distinguished by number as they now are, but by names, a separate name being given to the set of four storeys over one another on each side of the stairs. These names it is possible to identify from Bursar Lee's chamber book and valuation dated 1654, and they are

[1] It was discovered and exposed by the Rev. J. Griffiths when Sub-Warden. These rooms have generally been occupied by that officer.

[2] 'Convention Book,' Apr. 24, 1747.

given in the accompanying plan, together with the actual numbers now in use. The different storeys were distinguished as ground chamber, middle chamber (=first floor), upper chamber (=second floor), and cockloft (=garret), thus 'the South bay cockloft,' 'the South bay upper chamber,' the 'South bay middle chamber,' the 'South bay ground chamber,' and so on.

With a few exceptions there was no rule for assigning certain rooms to certain persons. On Dec. 20, 1613, the Foundress writes,

Chaplains' chambers.

> The two Chaplaynes I would should be placed in the two chambers of the right side of the Gate, that hath but one Studdy a peece.

These rooms must have been the Southern ground-floor rooms in what is now No. VII staircase, named in the chamber books as 'Chaplaines,' but the divisions of the studies do not now correspond with the description.

Clerks' chamber.

The Clerks are supposed to have been lodged in the Ground Chapel chamber (now used as the Bursary), for the convenience of ringing the chapel bell as the Statute required them for 'prayers, lectures, disputations, all exercises, dinner, and supper.' But this allocation is not specified by the Statutes.

By a resolution of Feb. 21, 1623[1], it was decreed that an inventory should be made of the fixtures fit and necessary for the Fellows' chambers, which were to be attached to the chambers and valued to the succeeding Fellow, who was to be bound to take them. These inventories include locks, bolts, door, shutters, fixed shelves, and presses, but not ordinary furniture, and the valuations range from £2 or £3 to £6.

Fellows' chambers.

The Fellows could, as we have seen, choose their rooms where they liked, but they seem as a rule to have occupied the 'upper chambers,' that is the second floor. Their preference for these rooms is explained partly by their quietness, the garrets or cocklofts being at first unoccupied, and afterwards by the advantage of being able to hire the empty garrets at a small rent and either use them or sublet them at a higher rate when more rooms were wanted. At a subsequent time it seems to have been compulsory on the tenants of an upper chamber to rent the garret over it.

[1] Chamber Book of 1613, p. 49

The garrets or cocklofts were not at first required as chambers. In an entry of 1773, in the time of Warden Wyndham, we read that while

The Garrets at first disused.

> Chumming[1] was in Fafhion, the College had sufficient Chambers without having Recourfe to the Garretts, They were therefore neglected looked on as Lumber Holes, Nor were any of them (except two or three of late years)[2] Ever repaired or had anything laid out on them since the Foundation of the College; No wonder then they Sank in value and the College was then willing to let them at the fmall Price of 10^{s} a year[3].

Ten shillings is in fact their rent in Bursar Lee's valuation of 1654, where we find that the rent of ground Chambers was £3, and that of Fellows' Chambers, by which we must understand the first and second floor rooms, was £5, when not occupied by a Fellow, who of course had a right to rooms rent free.

Chamber rent in 1654.

To a certain extent, however, the garrets must have been habitable from the first. In inventories and valuations entered in the chamber books are frequent references to provision of doors and fittings in the cocklofts, and in 1643 it appears that some half dozen of them were already occupied, although according to Loggan's print of 1675, and Williams' of 1733, they were then lighted entirely by the windows in the exterior gables, a few skylights only showing towards the quadrangle. Without the windows to the quadrangle on which they now depend mainly for light the garrets must have been uncomfortable places, but in spite of that, the change of habits and the growing desire of the undergraduates to have chambers to themselves made the cocklofts sought after, and the College at last was forced to do something to improve them. Accordingly at a convention on July 8, 1773,

Garrets partially used.

> It having been reprefented that though the Members of the College were not near fo many as They have formerly been[4] Yet all the Chambers were full fo

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[1] A '*Chum*' is a 'Cameralis' or chamber-mate. Dr. Murray cites: '1684. Creech, Theocritus, Idyll. xii. Ded., To my chum Mr. Hody of Wadham College.'

[2] July 29, 1730. It was resolved that an old floor removed from Dr. Sandy's room to make way for a new one be laid in Mr. Thomas's garret.

[3] 'Convention Book,' July 8, 1773.

[4] The Oxford Guide for 1765 states that the number of Students of every kind is about 50.

Disuse of Chumming

that there was no Room into which to put any young Perſon that ſhould enter. And that the Deficiency of Rooms was owing to the Custom of Chumming being almoſt grown totally into Diſuſe, inſomuch that the Scholars of the Houſe chooſe rather to hire ſingle Rooms than Chum in thoſe allotted them by the College. It was therefore proposed from henceforth not to require the Tenants of the upper Chambers to rent the Garretts but to fit them up and let them out diſtinct as other Chambers are, and at a Price according to their different Goodness for the Common Benefit of the College, agreeably to the Statute[1]; Or if the Society thought proper to add to the Twelve Garretts in the great Quadrangle the two in the New Buildings and the present Ground Chamber in the Right hand in No. 3, (which chamber (whenever a partition wall is there built) muſt neceſsarily loſe two of its preſent apartments) They might allott the ſaid Garretts and Ground chamber to the uſe of the Scholars, whereby each Scholar would have a ſeparate Room, and the other four Scholars Rooms and as many as are occupied by Scholars refuſing to Chum would be for ſuch other Members as may hereafter enter.

Fourteen Garrets and one Ground Room allotted to Scholars.

This was carried, but nothing seems to have come of it at first. In April, 1775, it was further resolved that as the Scholarships were diminished in value by the necessity of hiring rooms, the annual rent of which often absorbed more than half their stipend, '*the custom of Chumming being totaly laid aside*,' the fourteen garrets and one ground room should be allotted to the Scholars to live in,

> and in which they shall be obliged to live, and shall not be permitted to hire any other Room whatsoever * * * The S[d] Garretts as the present owners quit them shall be put into habitable repair for the S[d] Scholars[2].

Fitting up of Garrets.

The fitting up of the garrets proceeded slowly, and was done by one or two at a time as they fell in. Entries appear in the 'Convention Book' of their fitting up, and of the insertion of 'Scholars' windows,' by which we must understand the windows facing the quadrangle, in 1781, 1782, 1786, and 1797; and finally in 1806 it was resolved

> That the windows which disfigure the front roof should be removed, and uniform Garret windows be made looking towards the quadrangle.

Their rent also rose from 10*s.* in 1773 to £2 in 1780; and in 1812 we read,

[1] Statutes, Cap. 27: 'Pro reliquis vero omnibus cubiculis et pro superioribus tricliniis seu cameris . . disponendis,' &c. &c.

[2] 'Convention Book,' Apr. 21, 1775.

> Mr. Symons to occupy the garret in Staircase No. 3 at present rent of £4, which on his ceasing to occupy sh[d] be raised to the highest rent charged for any garret.

Mr. Symons was at that time a Probationer, though he was allowed to live in a garret. Probably the rule requiring Scholars to live in the 'Scholars' rooms,' as the garrets continued to be called, was relaxed, and they were allowed to hire other rooms and receive rent for those allotted them by the College.

In order to make the garrets habitable, they had to be furnished with fireplaces, for which no provision was originally made[1]. They were built out on the timbering of the floor, on which they still rest with apparent security, and the flues were taken into the old stacks, or built up against them.

Alterations in chambers for single occupants.

Chumming being abandoned, and each inmate allowed a set of rooms to himself, the old arrangement of the cubicula and musaeola was no longer applicable. The common bedroom, with its fireplace, hitherto shared by three chums, became the living room of the single occupant, the two musaeola next one another were thrown together to form his bedroom, while the third study under the stairs became the pantry or 'Scout's hole.' In most cases, however, the original partitions remain to tell of the old mode of living during the first century and a half of the existence of the College.

Chambers wainscotted.

During the eighteenth century, many of the middle and upper chambers were lined with handsome wainscotting of deal with bolection mouldings and raised panels. The handsomest in point of finish and style is the one pair room right in staircase No. V, which has carving over the chimney piece and windows. It is not known that this was any but an ordinary set of chambers like the rest, and probably the style in which each room was finished depended on the taste and means of the occupant for the time being. At Caius College, Cambridge, in 1696,

> it was agreed that if any fellow desired to have the chamber wainscotted and it was done at the College charge the common chest should receive yearly after the rate of 5 p c. for their money so laid out[2].

[1] The Chamber Book (p. 64) records the building of a chimney at the expense of the College in 1636, in 'ye cockloft over the 3rd upper chamber from ye Chappeell,' i.e. the West Attic in No. II.

[2] Willis and Clark, iii. 321.

At Wadham no resolution as to wainscotting rooms appears in the minute book, but it may be referred to in a passage of the resolution of July, 1773, which speaks of

> what the College has already laid out to make all the chambers better, and particularly Thofe next the Chapel and Hall.

Alterations to staircases Nos. III and IV.

The last-named improvement seems to refer to the alteration in the staircases of No. III next the chapel, and No. IV next the Hall. These were originally just like the others, except that the stone doorway at the foot of the staircase opened not to the quadrangle, but to the passage: their stairs ran straight up to the back of the building like the rest, between chambers on the west and lobbies and coal-houses on the east. These lobbies were now added to the adjoining chambers by turning the staircase so as to allow of communication behind, and they make perhaps the best sets of rooms in the College. To get headway at the foot of the stairs the old stone archway was cut away, but the springing of its four-centred head may still be traced in the masonry.

Alteration to Staircase No. VII.

A somewhat similar alteration had been made already to No. VII staircase. On May 29, 1745, it was

> agreed to alter the staircafe at the right Hand of the Gate by making it turn and not as now to run up direct.

Sashing windows.

The cost of 'sashing' the windows was probably divided between the College and the tenant, like that of the wainscotting. Originally the windows of the chambers were glazed in lead quarries with iron bars and casements; but these were gradually replaced during the latter part of the eighteenth century by wooden frames and sashes. The front half of the mullions however was allowed to remain, and not taken quite away as at Lincoln and some other colleges, and the effect of the mullioned window is therefore not quite lost. This sashing of the windows was considered 'a great ornament to the College,' and '*in order to beautify the entrance to the College from the street it was agreed to sash the Bow-window (over the gate) fronting the West, and not to charge the present or future Tenants for the same*[1].'

[1] 'Convention Book,' Apr. 13, 1792.

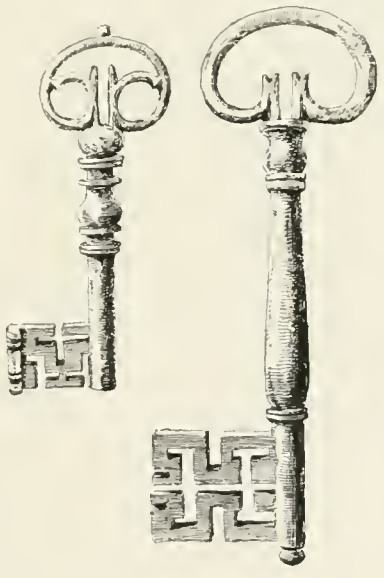
From entries in the College books it appears that at different times some if not all of the College servants were lodged in the College. The Porter would naturally have had the ground floor chamber next the gate northwards. Mr. Gardiner thinks that as the earlier Chamber books only notice a few of the ground floor rooms the others may have been occupied by servants[1]. John Williams, the first manciple, did we know live in College, apparently in the ground floor Hall chamber, i. e. in No. IV. At a later date the Manciple occupied the ground floor next the Warden in No. I, whence he was dispossessed in 1751, in order to enlarge the Warden's house, and it was resolved Servants' rooms.

> That the Manciple henceforth may have for his Chamber (so long as the College shall give him leave to have a chamber) that room next the gate on the South side[2].

THE TREASURY or MUNIMENT ROOM still occupies the position fixed for it by the Statutes on the top floor of the Tower. The Treasury.

> 'Also I will,' says the Foundress, 'that that chamber (cubiculum) which is situate in the tower, or the upper part of the great gate, be for ever held and occupied for the Treasury[3].'

The door of this Treasury is to be 'strong and secure, locked with three locks having differing keys, of which the Warden, Sub-Warden, and Senior Bursar shall have the custody[4].' Within was to be kept a chest with three differing locks, of which the same three officers were to have the keys, where the Bursars were to bestow the surplus cash, in the sight of the Dean and five Senior Fellows. In another larger chest, of which the three keys were to be kept by the Warden, the Dean, and Junior Bursar, were to be kept all the Charters, deeds, and muniments of the College, and the original book of the Statutes 'signed



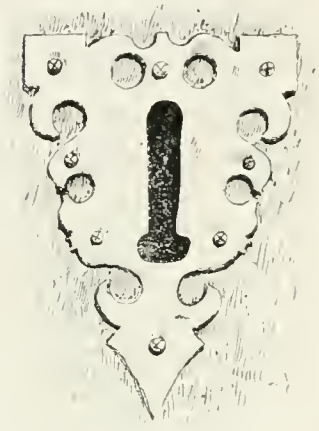
KEYS OF TREASURY.

[1] 'Register of Wadham College,' p. 473.
[2] 'Convention Book,' Dec. 6, 1751.
[3] Statutes, Cap. 26, de cubiculorum dispositione.
[4] Statutes, Cap. 21.

and sealed,' says the Foundress, 'with my hand.' Here also was to be kept the College seal, in a certain little iron-bound box closed with two differing locks, of which the Warden and Dean were to keep the keys. All other papers relating to the College were to be kept in the same room in a proper repository.

The College seal.

The College seal still reposes in its little chest (v. sup. p. 60) turned in solid box-wood, but it is now kept in a safer place than the Treasury[1]. Otherwise the old 'Gazophylacium' with its furniture remains unaltered. The old door still opens with its three differing keys and retains its pretty wrought iron scutcheons (v. Illustrations); and the chests are there though the Bursar's surplus cash now finds its way to the Bank. Here too are all the College charters, deeds and muniments, including the Charter of Edward IV granting the 'Austin Fair' to the convent in 1474, a beautiful piece of engrossing on vellum, with the royal seal in wax hanging to it. They lie in a handsome oak press of some age, with doors of crossed lattice-work ingeniously moulded, and over all has settled down a secular dust which was rudely disturbed for the first time in 1890 when workmen had to enter the room to do some repairs.



ESCUTCHEON ON TREASURY DOOR.

The muniments.

The Lodgings—

The Warden's lodgings.

> 'I ordain and appoint,' says the Foundress, 'that the chamber (cubiculum) over the great gate of the College, and other seven chambers (cubicula) next adjoining on the north side be assigned to the sole use of the Warden; nor shall it be lawful for the said Warden to keep for his own use any other chamber, nor to change his own for others, except with the consent of a majority of Fellows[2].'

The original Warden's house therefore consisted of the great room over the gateway with an oriel window at each end, and seven sets of rooms on Staircase No. I, leaving the eighth set probably for the Porter.

[1] While I was Fellow, 1864–1880, the seal was still kept in the muniment room, and it was the rule that no Fellow should go to fetch it or enter the room alone.

[2] Statutes, Cap. 26.

Lodgings for the Head in the earlier Colleges.

This liberal allowance of room for the Head of the College had become common since the Reformation. The Head of the earlier colleges was at first a Cœnobite, and was expected to dine and sup in Hall with the rest. While all the rest of the Society chummed three or four in a room it was thought a sufficient concession to his dignity to give him the use of a chamber to himself. A second room was next allotted to him, for purposes of College business and to receive visitors, and for a long time two chambers on the first floor (solaria) were his utmost allowance[1]. He seems to have chosen his rooms where he pleased, till William of Wykeham first gave his Warden a fixed habitation over the great gate whence he could command the quadrangle and the approach to the College at the same time, and be accessible by those who had occasion to come to him on College affairs without disturbance to the studious pursuits of the Fellows and Scholars. After this the practice obtained of providing a residence of two or more chambers for the Head, and in many cases, as at Wadham, he was lodged on Wykeham's plan in the rooms over the gateway.

A fixed residence for the Head first at New College.

The Warden's lodging at Wadham College.

The chambers allotted to the Warden of Wadham were ordinary sets of rooms like the others in the quadrangle, not combined in any way into a house; and since he was a bachelor by statute, and could not have needed them all even had they been conveniently arranged for the purpose of a residence, it is probable that they were given him that he might derive profit by letting them[2].

Chamber over the gate.

The great chamber over the gate is now reached only by the winding staircase of the Tower: but formerly it had a second door, now blocked, leading to the adjacent room on No. I staircase. How long this room continued to be occupied by the Warden is uncertain. He could only exchange his quarters for others by consent of the majority of Fellows, but no entry appears in the minute book of any such consent being applied for or given. He does not seem to have moved in 1626[3],

[1] Willis and Clark, iii. 328, &c., give particulars of the Lodgings of the Head of most of the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge.

[2] E. g. in the time of Warden Baker. '*The room which Mr. Nevil rents of the Warden to be new floored at the expense of the College. Carpenter computes at £7.*' Convention Book, Sept. 1, 1721.

[3] In 1626, middle chamber North Bay, part of the present Lodgings, was occupied by Charles Dymoke. Gardiner's 'Register.'

Removal of Warden's lodgings.

but he was gone from the Tower chamber before 1640, in which year, on Nov. 17, this room was vacated by Thomas Manning[1]. In Bursar Lee's list of 1653 it appears as 'The Astronomy chamber,' and is valued at £4 a year, and in 1663 it was rented by Dr. Christopher Wren although he had been elected ten years before to a fellowship at All Souls. By Loggan's print we learn that before 1674 the Warden had flown not only from the Tower room, but from his original seven chambers on Staircase No. I, and was settled in 'North bay' and 'North crest' which he still inhabits. The change in fact consisted simply in his giving back to the College the rooms allotted to him by Statute, and taking instead the whole of the eight sets of rooms on the adjoining staircase, which makes a much more compact and convenient residence.

Tradition of foundation of Royal Society at Wadham.

These dates, it is to be feared, upset the tradition always religiously preserved in the College that the earliest meetings of what afterwards became the Royal Society were held in the great room over the gateway, then occupied by Dr. Wilkins as part of the Warden's Lodgings. That meetings did take place in the Lodgings for some years is perfectly true, but the 'Astronomy chamber' had evidently ceased to be part of the lodgings some years before Dr. Wilkins was appointed Warden.

Dr. Sprat's account.

The early history of the Royal Society is told somewhat differently by different writers. Dr. Sprat, writing about 1664[2], yields to inclinations

> which, (he says,) strongly force me to mention that which will be for the honor of that place where I received a great part of my Education. It was, therefore, fome ſpace after the end of the Civil Wars at Oxford, in Dr. Wilkins his Lodgings, in Wadham College, which was then the place of Resort of vertuous and Learned Men, that the firſt meetings were made, which laid the foundation of all this that follow'd.
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> * * * * * * *
>
> The principal and moſt conſtant of them were Doctor Seth Ward the preſent Lord Biſhop of Exeter, M^r^. Boyl, D^r^. Wilkins, Sir William Petty, M^r^. Mathew Wren, D^r^. Wallis, D^r^. Goddard, D^r^. Willis, D^r^. Bathurſt, D^r^. Christopher Wren, M^r^. Rook; beſides several others who joyned themſelves to them upon occaſions.

[1] Chamber book, 'the chamber over the gate-house.' The valuation of the fixtures to him was £3. 14*s.* 10*d.*

[2] Sprat's 'History of the Royal Society,' 1677, quarto, p. 53.

Thus they continued without any great Intermiſsions till about the year 1658. But being then call'd away to ſeveral parts of the Nation, and the greateſt number of them coming to London, they uſually met at Greſham College at the Wedneſdays, and Thurſdays Lectures of Dr. Wren and Mr. Rook. * * * *

The Royal Society had its beginning in the wonderful pacifick year 1660.

A different account, however, is given by Dr. Wallis, whom Sprat mentions as one of the first members. He says :— Dr. Wallis's account—first meetings in London.

I take its first ground and foundation to have been in London, about the year 1645, if not sooner, when Dr. Wilkins (then chaplain to the Prince Elector Palatine in London) and others met weekly at a certain day & hour under a certain penalty [1]. * * * * *

About the year 1648-9, some of our company were removed to Oxford: first Dr. Wilkins, then I, and soon after Dr. Goddard, whereupon our company divided. Those at London (and we when we had occasion to be there,) met as before. Those of us at Oxford, with Dr. Ward, Dr. Petty, and many others of the most inquisitive persons in Oxford, met weekly (for some years) at Dr. Petty's lodgings, on the like account, to wit so long as Dr. Petty continued in Oxford, and for some while after, because of the conveniences we had there (being the house of an apothecary) to view and make uſe of drugs and other like matters as there was occasion. * * * we did afterwards, (Dr. Petty being gone to Ireland, and our numbers growing less) remove thence; and (some years before his Majesty's return) did meet at Dr. Wilkins lodgings in Wadham College. In the meanwhile our company at Gresham College being much again increased by the acceſsion of divers Eminent and noble persons, upon his Majesty's return, we were (about the beginning of the year 1662) by his Majesty's grace and favour incorporated by the name of the Royal Society [2]. Branch meetings at Oxford. Early meetings at Dr. Wilkins's lodgings. Charter of the Royal Society.

After the removal of Dr. Wilkins to Cambridge the Oxford Philosophical Society met at the lodgings of the Hon. Robert Boyle. Their minutes, which are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, contain frequent reference to the London Society, and the two branches seem to have interchanged communications on the subjects brought before them. The Oxford Society met at irregular intervals till 1690, in which year their meetings terminated, much to the regret of philosophers [3]. End of the Oxford branch, 1690.

[1] The discussion was limited to philosophical subjects, politics and divinity being forbidden.

[2] From a rare tract by Dr. Wallis in defence of the Royal Society, published 1678. Cited in Weld's 'History of the Royal Society,' 2 vols. 1848, pp. 35, 36.

[3] Weld, pp. 33–35. Their cessation is deplored by Dr. Plot.

Although therefore Wadham College may claim in Dr. Wilkins the originator of the Royal Society, it is to be feared that the tradition must be abandoned which lays the scene of its foundation within the College walls. All accounts, however, agree that the Oxford branch of the infant Society met for some years in Dr. Wilkins's lodgings at Wadham College, and as it seems certain that the room over the gate did not then form part of the Lodgings, we must place the scene of the meetings either in the Warden's parlour, the present dining-room, or the drawing-room over it. Here too was the scene of the musical party described by Anthony Wood in 1658, when Dr. John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College, 'the greatest curioso of his time,' invited the Lubecker, Thomas Baltzar, the most famous artist for the violin that the world had yet produced, to display his skill before the musicians of Oxford. Baltzar's skill in running up his fingers to the end of the fingerboard of the violin and back again insensibly, 'and all in alacrity and very good tune,' of which no one in England saw the like before, defied all competition. Though instruments and books had been brought, none of the company could be induced 'to play against him in consort on the violin'; till at last, in a corner near the door, some one espies a shy recluse, who spent all the time he spared from his antiquarian pursuits in 'the most delightful facultie of music,' and Anthony Wood is haled in among them, and pläy forsooth he must. 'He was abashed at it, yet honour he got by playing with and against such a grand master as Baltzar was[1].'

Musical party at Dr. Wilkins's lodgings.

Anthony à Wood at Dr. Wilkins's lodgings.

Extension of Warden's lodgings.

The Warden's Lodgings remained within the limits of a single staircase, as Williams' plan of 1733 shows them, till in 1751 under Warden Wyndham 'the ground chamber next to his Parlour on the South side was taken in[2],' and in 1831, immediately after Dr. Symons' election to the Wardenship, it was resolved

> that the three sets of apartments marked 1, 2 & 7 in the staircase East of the Lodgings No. 2, be allocated to the Warden instead of three sets on the South side of the Lodgings No. 1.[3]

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[1] Autobiography of Anthony Wood.

[2] 'Convention Book,' Dec. 6, 1751, a fresh room was provided for the Manciple, who had previously occupied these rooms: v. supra, p. 141.

[3] 'Convention Book,' June 30, 1831.

This allocation was an assignment to the Warden of the rents of the three chambers in question, with the right of adding them to the lodgings if he desired.

Alterations to the Lodgings, in 1812.

In 1812, under Dr. Tournay, considerable alterations were made in the Lodgings at an expense of about £1500[1]. It was at this time, probably, that the staircase was removed to its present position, the outer wall being somewhat perilously reduced in thickness to make way for it. Further alterations, towards which the College voted £300[2], were made by Mr. Blore for Warden Symons in 1832. They consisted partly in the construction of a double arch across the Hall in the Gothic style of the day, which was removed in 1872 after the election of Dr. Griffiths to the Wardenship, when for the last time the house was improved in many ways and redecorated.

in 1832.

in 1872.

The principal rooms in the house are handsomely panelled in the style of 1750 or thereabouts, and in one of the rooms are considerable remains of Jacobean panelling, coeval with the College, though a good deal altered and moved from its original position.

THE COMMON ROOM—

The Common Room.

No provision was made in the original plan for the Common Room, an institution which did not appear at Oxford till some time afterwards. At Cambridge, where the Colleges conform much more to the recognized type of the contemporary manor-houses, there seems from the first to have been provided behind the upper end of the Hall a parlour or common sitting-room[3], corresponding to the withdrawing-room, or drawing-room, of the palaces and large private houses of that time, of which one of the best-known examples is that at Hampton Court. Here a common fire was maintained, often the only one to which the Fellows and Scholars had access.

Combination Room at Cambridge.

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[1] Towards this Dr. Wills' benefaction of £1000 was employed with other money applicable for the purpose, and the Warden presented to the College the balance of £340. 11*s.* 6*d.* 'Convention Book,' Jan. 12, 1812.

[2] 'Convention Book,' Oct. 26, 1832.

[3] Willis and Clark, iii. 376. The parlura, afterwards conclave or sometimes cœnaculum, was first called combination room at Trinity in 1650–1. Ibid. p. 380.

Common Rooms at Oxford.

At Oxford the parlour or Common Room formed no part of the original scheme. Merton was the first to establish a Common Chamber, 'to the end that the Fellows might meet together, (chiefly in the evenings after refection) partly about business, but mostly for Society sake, which was before at each chamber by turns[1]. This was in 1661, and the example was followed by other Colleges, that at Trinity being made in 1665 out of a lower room belonging to a Fellow between 'the Common Gate and the South end of the public refectory,' where it still remains.

The Bursary.

The room at Wadham which is now the Common Room was originally the Bursary. The Statutes prescribe that

> the chamber (cubiculum) above the buttery shall serve for the Bursars of the time being, wherein to make an account, together with the Steward of the Hall, the Manciple, and the Butler, of the expenses & sums laid out week by week[2].

Used as a Common Room, 1724.

A Common Room is first mentioned in 1724, when it is ordered that the mason's work of the Common Room be done at the College expense[3]. In 1770 we learn that every Fellow was 'put on' half-a-crown a quarter for the Common Room, and every Gentleman-Commoner five shillings, Gentlemen-Commoners being apparently admitted to use it with the Fellows. In 1776, Mr. White, sub-Warden and Arabic Professor, is allowed to make use of '*the Room over the Buttery*' for his lectures. In 1783, in Warden Wills' time, the Warden raised the question whether it was right that the College should bear the expense of coals for the Common Room, which had gradually grown to £20 a year. He observed

Common Room coals.

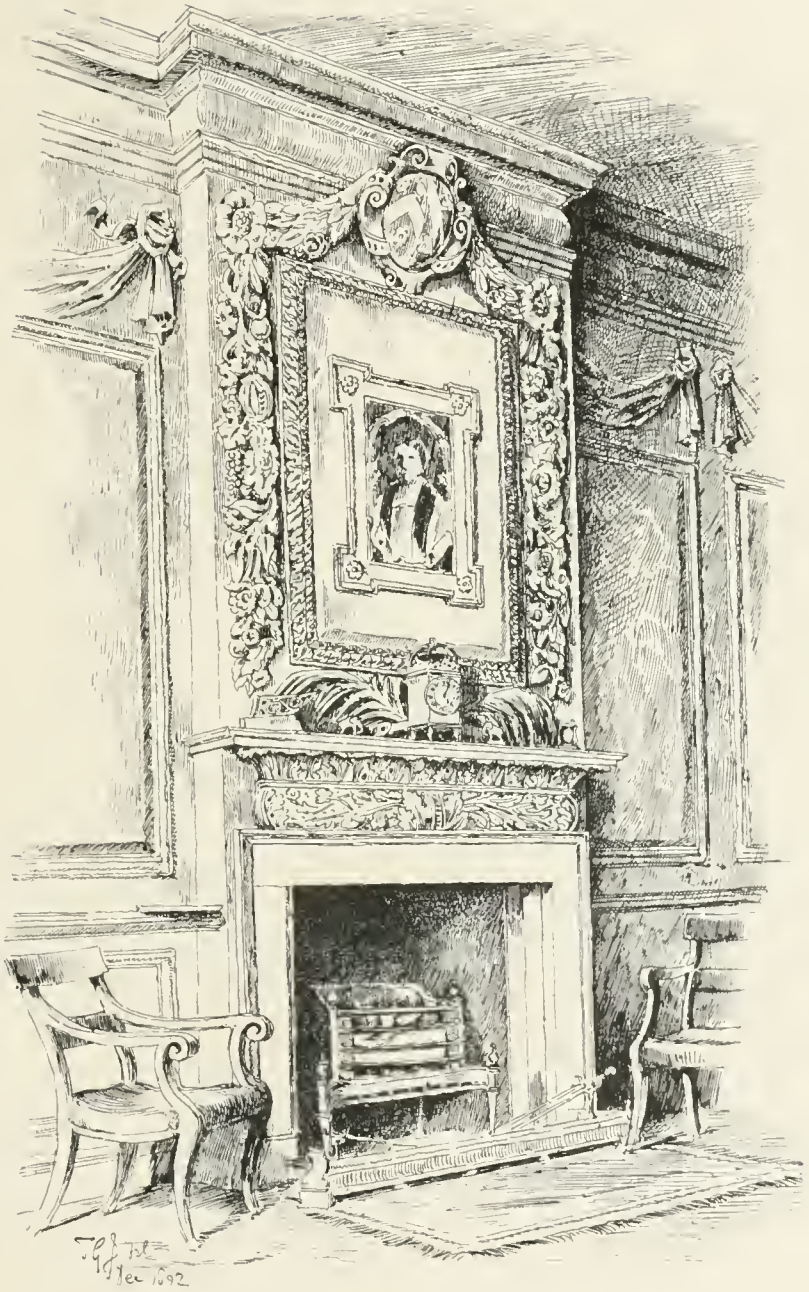
> that the Statutes of the College directed all savings to be kept or expended *in publicum Collegii usum*; that laying out above £20 p̃. añ. in Firing for those Fellows benefit only who resided in College, and for the benefit of Gentlemen Commoners and independent Masters of Arts, was not expending it *in publicum Collegii usum*;—because neither the Warden nor absent Fellows, nor the Chaplains, Scholars, nor Clerks had any advantage therefrom[4].

[1] Wood, 'Colleges and Halls,' p. 528.

[2] Statutes, Cap. 26.

[3] June 17, 1724. It is described as the '*Sala Communis*' in Williams' plate of 1733.

[4] 'Convention Book,' Dec. 6, 1783. This was settled in 1785 by reducing the Gentlemen-Commoners to the same quarterly payment of 2*s*. 6*d*. as the Fellows, but charging them and M.A.'s not on the Foundation a guinea quarterly towards the firing. Mar. 31, 1785.



To face p. 148 THE COMMON ROOM

Gentlemen-Commoners in Common Room.

The Gentlemen-Commoners, it is to be feared, did not always behave nicely in Common Room, for in 1785 Barnes, Gentleman-Commoner, is ordered to make a proper apology for misbehaviour, and a resolution is passed, though afterwards crossed out, that Gentlemen-Commoners be not admitted to Common Room till they are of four years' standing, and that the Warden be asked to give them another room till they had completed the said term.

In 1787 we read that

Alterations in Common Room.

> Mr. Peers estimate of £32. 10*s.* 0*d.* for putting up new windows and a new chimney piece, & laying a new marble slab in the Common Room according to a plan he gave in was approved of.

This chimney-piece is no doubt the marble head and jambs still existing. The panelled and carved super-mantel is of an older date. What was done to the windows is not so clear. Originally the great window had tracery like the others in the Hall and ante-Chapel, for it is required to make up the total of William Arnold's eighteen; but before 1733 the tracery had been cut out, and the window filled with small panes apparently set in wooden bars[1]. In 1826 double sashes were ordered for the large window of the Bursary or Common Room, which was also directed to be painted at the expense of 'Domus.' This brought the room to its present condition.

The only other entry in the 'Convention Book' relating to the Common Room is the vote of £50, on Dec. 11, 1812, to be spent on a carpet and curtains.

Description of the room.

The Room is a very pleasant one, commanding a view still more rural than any other in Oxford, though no longer unbroken by a single building as it was thirty years ago. The walls are handsomely wainscotted with deal, in large panels with rich mouldings, and with rounded pediments over the doors; and in the over-mantel are festoons of fruit and foliage boldly carved in soft wood. A few pictures hang on the walls. Over the chimney-piece is the portrait of Warden Wilkins. Opposite the window is another of Mother George, an old wife mentioned in Anthony Wood's autobiography, who lived to the age of 120 years, preserving her faculties to the last, and dying after all not of old age, but from the effects

Pictures in Common Room.

[1] v. plate in Williams' 'Oxonia depicta.'

of a fall, in 1691[1]. Her picture, which is a good one, is by Sonmans. The author of Ackerman's Oxford says it was presented to the College by the painter, and that Mother George was an old servant of the Society, but he does not give his authority[2]. On the side wall is a very elaborately finished architectural subject on copper, painted in 1647 by Van Delen, representing the Pool of Bethesda, and given to the College by Mr. John Poynder. Dr. Ingram believes the left-hand figure to be a portrait of the painter.

[1] Wood's 'Life,' note by Editor.

[2] The only female servant allowed by the Statute was the 'Lotrix,' but in the time of the Parliamentary Commissioners in $16\frac{4}{50}$ it appears that female bedmakers were employed, and Mother George may have been one of them. '*Ordered that noe woman ſhall be p̃mitted to make Beds or doe any other ſervice for Students and Scholars in any College or Hall in this Univerſitie of Oxon: but ancient weomen of good report, ſuch as ſhall be approved of by the Gouno*rs *of enie Colledge and Hall, &c. . . . . By order of the Visitors, Ra. Auſten. Reg̃. Com̃.*' Warden's MSS. No. 84.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI

Specimens of inventories from the Chamber Books.

John Williams Chamber the Manciple May 9 1628

The chamber whited and painted, wainſcotted 7 foot high, and crested and ledged overhead. 2 wainſcot benches with turn'd posts from ye chymney to ye ſouth weſt corner, and from thence to the ſtudy. A chymney peece carued worke; 3 wainſcot dores to ye 3 Studyes wth one latch to each of them; and a bolt beſide to the South weſt Study dore. A faire portall wth a spring latch; a strong spring locke & one key for the chamber dore. The floore new borded, a hearth pace with 36 painted ſtones and a chimney back all faire. In the windows 2 caſements, and 6 painted birdes, 2 in ye south windowe, 4 in ye north, and 2 wainſcot window leaves to each windowe; ſingle in y^e^ ſouth, but double and folding in the north windowe. In the Chamber all giuen by ye Manciple to the College. Memd y^t^ in the north-weſt corner (where the bed ſtood) is a place 4 foot les 3 inches in breadth, 3 foot ½ in heigth, bare of wainſcot.

The Study whited and painted, ye inner dore painted with a locke, key, and bolt. A caſement, and a windowe leaf diuided. A tablebord 3 foot & 9 inches long & 2 foot broad, 2 Shelues each 7 foot long and 11 inches broad, a greene cloth nayled on wth tape added by M^r^. Eaſtcourt. The South-weſt ſtudy towards ye back gate.

The Study whited and painted, ye dore painted hauing a locke and key. 2 Shelues 7 f^t^ long and 11 inches broad a caſement to the windowe. The North-weſt ſtudy towards ye College.

The door painted unhanged. South eaſt ſtudy or toward ye cookes (?).

The Middle Chappell Chamber ye 6th.[1]

2 caſements, a back in the chimney, a faire table 6 foot long, 2 foote 4 inches broade, 2 ioyned stooles. A new lock wth two keyes 5^s^ bought new by Sr John Portman alsoe window leaves towards the north. Swings: & a hearthpaſe added by R. Phelips & Will: Northey. In the chãber.

The hangings of ye chamber (of darnix) and a flope bedsteed of darnix[2], for wch ye Banfields payd 5. 6. 8 after 3 removes.

[1] 'Chamber book' of 1613, &c., p. 18.

[2] Most of the chambers have '*two standing bedsteeds and a trucklebedst wth cords and*

The study to the College.

5 Shelves 6 foote longe 6ˢ. 8ᵈ. a table 4 foote longe, 2 foote broade 5ˢ. 4ᵈ. a lock & key 3ˢ.

The study to the garden.

A Cafement, a cafe of 4 Shelves 5 foote long wᵗʰ a hanging defke 3 foote long 1 foote & halfe broade, a little defke 2 foote long, nayld to the wall, a plate lock & key to the dore that cost 3ˢ.

The 2 Bamfeilds did
pay for ye Hangings and
the Bed 5ˡⁱ. 6ˢ. 8ᵈ. 1629.

The Middle Hall Chamber, 60 [1].

In the chamber.

A frame table 4 foote long 2 foote 4 inches broade, 2 cafements, a back & hearth, a fire pan, doggs and tongs, 4 ioyned stooles, a carpet to the table of darnix a yard & 3 qʳˢ longe, and a yard broade, a curtaine of darnix to the south window, a standing bedsted & a truckle bedst: wᵗʰ cords & matts, a plate & lock to the dore & 3 keyes 7ˢ. more a pair of window leaues 8ˢ. more a court cupbord wᵗʰ a drawinge boxe 4 foot long les 2 inches & as many foote high.

Half of the court cupbord
was given to ye houfe by
Mʳ. Speckett, 1623, and
the other half by Mʳ.
Rainfford 1624.

The first study towards the College.

A case of 5 shelues the whole length of the ſtudye, a frame table 3 foote long, 2 foote broade, a paire of window leaues in a frame a plate lock and a bolt 4ˢ.

The inner study towards the College.

A case of 5 shelves 4 foote & ½ long, a frame table 3 foot long, 2 foote broade 6ˢ. a paire of window leaues in a frame, a plate lock & bolt 5ˢ. 6ᵈ.

The study towards the south.

A case of 5 shelves 5 foote longe, & another broade ſhelfe 3 foote longe, a frame Table 3 foote longe, 2 foote 2 inches broade, a paire of window leaves 3ˢ.

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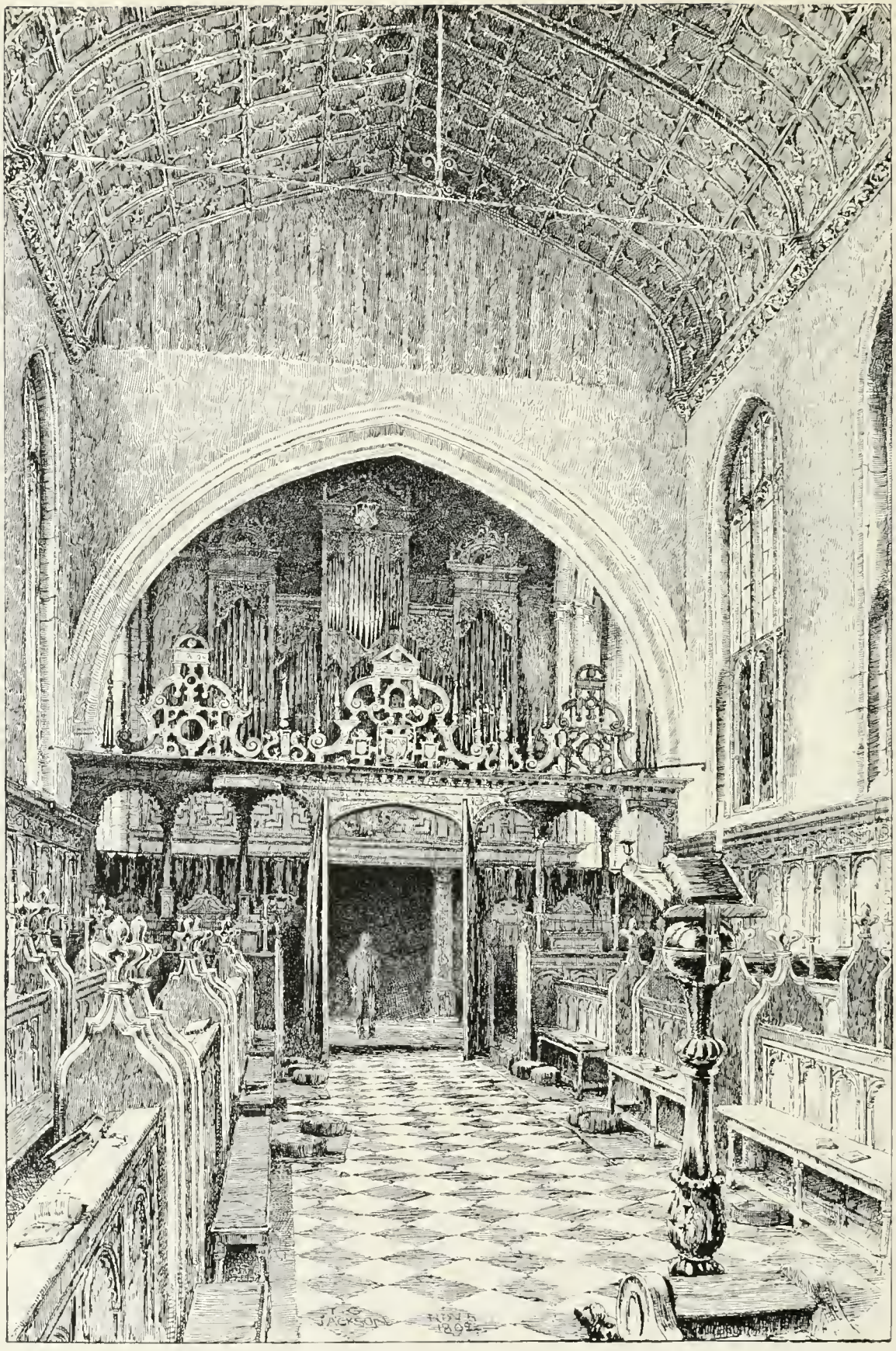
matts.' Darnix is a kind of cloth made at Tournay, whence its name. The inventories at Cambridge are similar, containing generally a standing bedstead, a trundle bedstead, a leaden cistern and trough for washing purposes, wooden shutters to the windows, a plain wooden table, two forms or a few stools or a settle, a cupboard, a desk for writing on, and book-shelves which were generally in the studies. Willis and Clark, iii. 324.

[1] 'Chamber book' of 1613, &c., p. 22.



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THE CHAPEL: INTERIOR VIEW

CHAPTER XII

THE CHAPEL.

The Chapel of Wadham College will not compare in magnitude or in architectural splendour with the stately fanes of Christ Church and Merton, nor in correctness of style and purity of detail with the chapels of New College, Magdalen, and All Souls; but the mixture of styles it presents, which reflects faithfully the period of its construction, renders it historically correct, and gives it a picturesque charm unique among the chapels of either University. The exterior of the choir is simple and dignified, and its architecture is almost regular, and suggests nothing to prepare one for the effect of the interior. The view of its hoary walls and grey roof from the College garden is one of the best known and most generally admired subjects in Oxford, and has been drawn and engraved over and over again. As seen from here even the strange windows of the ante-Chapel fail to disturb the orderly and quiet repose of the design, which, beautiful as it is, has no remarkable originality to stir us (v. Plate xvii. p. 210).

The chapel.

The exterior.

But the first view of the interior, either from the doors of State in the quadrangle, or the transept door now once more made the usual entrance, is somewhat startling. The spaciousness of the ante-Chapel and the fine effect of the double arches and columns that span it are unexpected; the bizarre windows of this part make one forget the more regular windows of the choir; and there is something new and striking in the bold sweep of the fine arch that divides the ante-Chapel from the inner Chapel, and in the fantastic gorgeousness of the choir screen.

The interior.

The Chapel is of that T shaped plan which is peculiar to Oxford, and was so popular there that no fewer than seven college chapels conform to it. The old story that this plan was first suggested by the

Plan of the chapel.

accident of the cruciform church at Merton being finished off at the transepts without its western limb is now discredited by antiquaries, on the ground that the transepts at Merton are later in date than the T shaped chapel of New College. This objection is not, however, conclusive, for the older church of St. John the Baptist certainly was cruciform, and part of the older transepts, in the decorated style, remain in the later building. But, however the plan was first conceived, it was at all events deliberately adopted by William of Wykeham at New College, which set the fashion for All Souls in 1437, and Magdalen in 1474. The succeeding colleges either had at first no chapels, or else built them on a smaller and simpler plan, and the T form was not reverted to till it was adopted a hundred and thirty-five years later at Wadham. Since then it has been followed at Oriel, which was rebuilt in 1620 in the same style as Wadham, and in Hawkesmoor's curious chapel at Brasenose, which dates from 1656.

Dimensions.

The dimensions of the Chapel are considerable, the extreme length being 96 ft. 6 in., the width of the choir 27 ft., and that of the transepts from north to south 74 ft. The choir within the screen is 69 ft. long. Room was required not only for the services but also for the theological disputations that went on there[1], most likely in the ante-Chapel, when perhaps the doors of the Chapel screen may have been shut. The

Ante-chapel windows.

ante-Chapel is lighted by ten windows of quaint Jacobean tracery, the work of William Arnold and his men, based on the strap-work common in Elizabethan ornament, and in the contemporary work of the Netherlands. Three round-headed lights carry an oval figure, which fills the head and is supported by a scroll on either hand, the whole having

Choir windows.

knots worked at the points of contact[2]. The choir windows, on the contrary, the work of John Spicer, are in tolerably correct Perpendicular Gothic, and at the first glance can hardly be believed of the same date as the others. Consequently it has been often supposed that these windows

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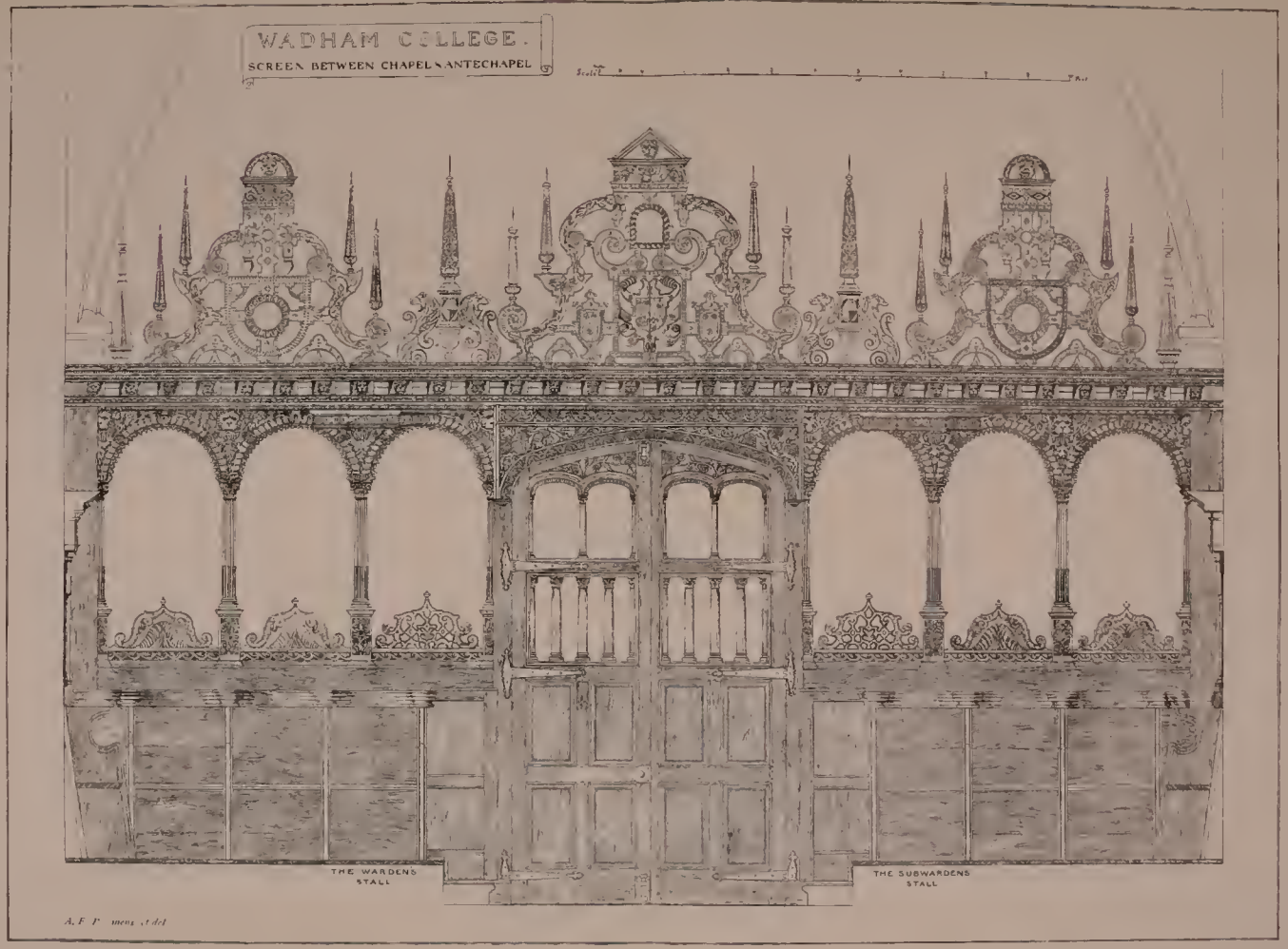
[1] '*Aliam vero disputationem Theologicam ad duas vel paullo minus horas duraturam, nisi propter causam legitimam interdum eam corripere libuerit, faciant dicti Collegii Magistri in Sacello dicti Collegii.*' Statutes, Cap. 11.

[2] William Arnold was paid £3. 18*s.* 0*d.* for each of these windows, labour only, exclusive of material. The eighteen similar windows are all described as Hall windows, though ten are in the ante-Chapel and one was in the Bursary. Building Accounts, Dec. 7, 1611, to May 2, 1612.


WADHAM COLLEGE.
SCREEN BETWEEN CHAPEL & ANTECHAPEL
THE WARDENS STALL
THE SUBWARDENS STALL
A. F. P. [illegible] et del.

To face p. 155

came from the ruined priory of the Augustines, and were really of fifteenth-century work instead of only seeming so. To an architect's eye there are several minute differences to disprove this, but irrespective of that, there is the evidence of the Building Accounts, which give the name of the mason who worked them, the payment to him for his labour, and the actual year, month, and week when each one was finished[1]. These windows afford perhaps the best existing evidence of the vitality of the native Gothic art of England, of which there are other instances in Oxford scarcely less remarkable than this, though none so well qualified to deceive the unwary antiquary[2].

The choir screen.

The woodwork of the great choir screen and the stalls is extremely fine in its way. The screen (v. Plates xii and xiii), made by John Bolton, joiner and carver, resembles very closely the grand chancel screen at Crosscombe, near Wells, and makes it probable that Bolton was a Somersetshire man. Though it retains the four-centred Tudor arch for the great gateway, all the colonettes have classic capitals and bases, and all the other arches are round. The quaint brattisching of open scroll-work, pinnacles, balls, and heraldry, which surmounts it and gives it its character, exceeds in picturesqueness, and it must be confessed in extravagance, the Somersetshire example, but it is abundantly piquant and delightful. Against the screen on the inside are the return stalls, with the seats of the Warden and Sub-Warden on the right and left of the entrance respectively; and against the outside, also right and left of the entrance, are two high pews of Jacobean panelling, now devoted to the reception of candle ends and other rubbish, but intended originally for the servants of the foundation.

Servants' pews.

The stalls.

The stalls are in the same style as the screen, with high backs of arcaded panelling, the arches divided by flat arabesqued pilasters and surmounted by a running band of grotesques in the freize. Some liberty has been taken with the top of the cornice of both stalls and screen, which is now only of deal, carved with cherubs' heads at intervals in a later style.

[1] John Spicer received £6 for working each side window of the choir, and £20 for the great East window—Labour only. Building Accounts, Feb. 1, 161½, to Sept. 26, 1612.

[2] The examples of late Gothic in Oxford are collected and well described by Mr. O. Jewitt, in No. 32 of the 'Archæological Journal.'

The subsellæ and their fronts were originally of plain square panelling, and the standard ends were surmounted by balls, like those at Oriel and Brasenose. Mr. Blore, who 'restored' the Chapel in 1832[1], cased the outsides of the standards and the fronts of the subsellæ with imitations of Jacobean ornament in deal, and substituted debased Gothic finials for the balls, entirely destroying the original design. At the same time he added new front desks of oak in the same style as his work in the subsellæ. The old work of the subsellæ, however, still exists under its modern disguise, and might easily be restored to view, and a few of the old ball-finials have survived as supports for the communicant's kneeler. The whole woodwork of screen and stalls is now unhappily grained oak and varnished, a condition from which we may hope some day to rescue it. At the same time there is no doubt that here, as elsewhere, the original designers would have failed to understand the superstitious regard which we moderns pay to oak. In their day it was the common building wood, and sometimes, from the way in which it is spoken of, deal, or fir-deal as they called it, seems to have been thought a superior material. The stalls and screen were no doubt painted from the first[2], most likely red, for the woodwork is shown of that colour in a sketch of the Chapel by the Rev. Mr. Eagles made shortly before Blore's alterations[3].

Mr. Blore's alterations in 1832.

Woodwork originally painted.

In the same sketch may be seen the curious painting, or rather drawing, in a kind of encaustic on cloth, by Isaac Fuller, which is thus described by Chalmers :—

Painted hangings by Isaac Fuller.

> The Cloth, of an ash colour, serves for the medium ; the lines and shades are done with a brown crayon, and the lights and heightening with a white

[1] '*It having for many years past been determined to repair and refit the College chapel, and money having for that purpose been invested in the public funds, it is resolved that the Warden be requested to consult with Mr. Blore, the Architect, and in concurrence with two Resident Fellows of whom the Subwarden shall be one to take such steps as shall be deemed proper towards carrying the proposed plan of that gentleman into execution.*' 'Convention Book,' Dec. 7, 1831.

[2] Wm. Davis, painter, receives £10 'in accompt for the chapple' on Feb. 27, 16$\frac{1}{3}$, and again £5 for the same on April 24, 1613, £9 for the same on May 8, £3 for the same on June 6, £8 on June 12, and a final payment on Sept. 4. In all some £40. v. Building Accounts.

[3] The drawing is in the Warden's Collections. A small one by the same hand is in my possession, a bequest from Dr. Griffiths. Mr. Eagles was an amateur well known in his day, and a friend of William Turner, of Oxford, the water-colour painter, who thought highly of his powers. See also the excellent plate of the interior of the Chapel in Ackerman's Oxford.

one. These dry colours being pressed with hot irons, which produce an exudation from the cloth, are so incorporated into its texture and substance that they are proof against a brush or even the hardest touch. * * * The subject on the front, is the Lord's Supper; on the North side are Abraham and Melchisedec; and on the South the children of Israel gathering Manna.

He adds that the drawing was in his time becoming indistinct[1]. Horace Walpole mentions it and says it has merit, though he condemns Fuller's altar-pieces at Magdalen and All Souls as despicable[2]. It probably remained till removed to make way for the panelled work and blank traceries of Bath stone in a somewhat cast-iron style of Perpendicular Gothic, with which Mr. Blore surrounded the space within the rails.

In Mr. Eagles' sketch may also be seen the original ceiling[3] boarded in five cants below the rafters, braces, and collars, and divided into panels with rosettes at the intersections. The panels seem also to have had borders painted round them. All this has now disappeared, and the only survival of it is a solitary rosette in the ceiling of the Warden's summer house. The present ceiling, by Blore, is a four-centred cove divided into small quatrefoiled panels; the whole is of stucco, painted oak and varnished, and a plainer ceiling of the same material is in the ante-Chapel. These ceilings are, it must be confessed, admirable specimens of stucco work, and to their hard resonant surface is due the excellent acoustic properties of the Chapel, which are very remarkable. They also keep the interior much warmer than the old boarded ceilings with nothing but the bare stone tiling above them. The tiles were originally laid only in moss, and the roof was anything but weather-tight. In 1763 we read that The ceiling.

Whereas the chapel has often been mended and the slates new laid in Mofs, and yet upon every Rain with a northerly wind it has so rained down (the Wind driving the rain through or forcing away the Moss) as to make the sitting therein very inconvenient, besides the damage that does accrue thereby to the Timber of the Roof, and we having been informed that there is now to be had at the pits

[1] Chalmers' 'Oxford,' A.D. 1810, p. 415. The hangings seem to have returned along the side walls.

[2] 'Anecdotes,' vol. iii. p. 9. ed. 1782.

[3] This ceiling is referred to as Battening the chapel, battening 'the Ile,' &c. for which Austin and Thornton received (for labour only) in all £35. Building Accounts, Dec. 19, 1612, to March 27, 161$\frac{2}{3}$. The chapel roof made by Thornton cost also £35 in labour.

very good slates much thinner and lighter than such as were formerly used, It is ordered (that the roof be partly relaid with new slates and) * * * that to prevent entirely its raining down thro' the slates be laid in mortar.

The pavements.

The black and white marble floors were laid about 1670, and the handsome cedar altar-rail dates evidently from the same time. To meet these and similar expenses it was resolved on July 30, 1669, that

> in order to the better furnishing of the Library the adorning the Chapple and other publique aduantages of the Colleg * * every ffellow-comoner under the degree of Nobleman shall imediately upon his Admiſsion into the Colleg lay down at least eight pounds in money into the Bursars handes to be kept seperat for thoſe purpoſes in a cheſt by itſelf under two keyes, the one of wch is to be in the handes of the Warden, the other of the Burſars. And this money is to be received instead of Plate.

On March 27, 1673, a yearly charge of 6*d.* was 'putt on' every one's name but the Servitors 'as a reward for cleansing the marble in the Chapple and ordering of the clock [1].'

The clock.

The clock, which is here mentioned for the first time in the 'Convention Book,' is traditionally a present from Sir Christopher Wren, who is supposed to have designed its mechanism. It lasted till 1870, when, being quite worn out, it was replaced by a new one [2]. The old works are preserved as a relic in the ante-Chapel, and the original face of the old clock is retained unaltered. In small ovals occupying the upper spandrils of the clock-face and painted in blue and gold are some armorial bearings, now much defaced. The dexter coat seems to have been that of the College. On the other may still be seen three crosses crosslet, which confirms the tradition relating to Sir Christopher Wren, whose arms seem to have been, Argent, a chevron sa. between three lions' heads erased az., on a chief gu. three crosses crosslet or [3].

Painted glass in the inner chapel.

The painted glass in the choir is of unusual interest, though of unequal merit. It is the work of three different artists: David and the prophets in the north windows being by one, our Lord with the twelve apostles, St. Paul and St. Stephen in the south windows by another, and

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[1] 'Convention Book,' No. 1. This seems to disprove the dates given by Wood, 'Coll. and Halls,' p. 602, who says the eastern part of the pavement was laid in 1677, and the rest in the following year.

[2] 'Convention Book,' Mar. 30, 1870.

[3] Burke, Papworth.

the great east window by a third. Besides these are two subjects occupying three lights each brought from a Belgian church.

Dr. Griffiths' account of the removal of old lights to fresh places, 1834.

The side windows have been much moved about, and many of them have suffered severely in the process. The history of their transmutations is thus recorded by Dr. Griffiths in a paper which he sent to the Society in 1885, with suggestions for replacing them in their original position.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

These windows were the gift of the Foundress [1]. They occupied the lower lights or compartments of the ten windows, and they remained as the Foundress placed them until 1833 or 1834. Then on the suggestion of Mr. Blore [2], who had lately finished his repairs and alterations of the Chapel and Antechapel, the figures of the twelve apostles were gathered together in the upper as well as the lower lights of the two easternmost windows, marking off a sort of Sacrarium at the East end of the Chapel: and after some experimental moves, the figures of our Saviour, S[t]. Paul, S[t]. Stephen, and three displaced Prophets were set where they now stand [3]. A glass-stainer named Russell, living in S. Clements, was employed to fill the small uppermost lights of the two Eastern windows according to his own taste and skill.

The removal of the figures of the Apostles left vacant the lower lights of two windows on the South side: but before long these spaces were filled by the liberality of D[r]. Symons, with glass which had recently been brought to England out of a Church or Conventual Chapel near Louvain [4].

I was a Fellow at the time, and assented to the change, because I knew no better. Fifty years ago the rules of ecclesiastical architecture were little known, and there was little appreciation of the principles of taste. In a few years however I learnt that the figures of the Apostles ought never to have been moved, and I have regretted the removal ever since. The plea urged for it was invalid; for there is very little, if any, authority for a Sacrarium in a Domestic chapel: and certainly at Wadham there is no ground for believing that there was even a rail in front of the Communion Table before the year 1677. Most people will now agree, that, without some very strong reason for the change, the figures should have been left in the places for which they were originally designed.

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[1] v. infra, p. 161, Foundress' letter of Mar. 28, 1614.

[2] v. 'Convention Book,' Oct. 29, 1835.

[3] That is to say our Lord, St. Paul and St. Stephen in the penultimate south window eastwards, and the three prophets in the last south window westwards.

[4] '*The Warden* (Dr Symons) *announced his present to the College of two subjects in painted glass taken from a church at* (name left blank) *viz.: the Nativity and Pentecost. They were now placed in two windows of the Chapel.*' 'Convention Book,' iv. April 6, 1836. '*He found some old windows at an upholsterer's in Bond Street and transferred two of them to the Chapel at a cost of a hundred guineas.*' MS. notes on Wadham College, by Dr. Griffiths. p. 13.

Restoration of the old glass to the original places, 1885.

In the summer of 1885, accordingly, the Apostles and Prophets were put back as nearly as was feasible in their original place. Those on the south side were arranged exactly as they were at first; those on the north recovered the three Prophets that had strayed away, but the ten next the west were not moved, it being thought undesirable to do more than was absolutely necessary to glass so much shaken and damaged. Consequently the Prophets are not quite in their right order, Malachi coming last but one instead of last, as he should be, both according to the order of the canon, and as having the date like Stephen who finishes the opposite series. The two Louvain windows were slightly altered and placed in the upper lights of the easternmost window on each side, and the abominable plumber's glass inserted by Russell was replaced by suitably designed painted glass. The expense of this was more than met by a fund with a curious history. In 1837 a subscription was begun for filling the ante-Chapel windows with painted glass; and in February, 1844, when the last of those windows was complete, there remained a surplus of £200. This was carefully nursed by Dr. Griffiths till 1885, when it amounted to no less a sum than £1210. Besides the restoration of the choir windows this sufficed to provide an organ-loft and an organ-case, and the rest was spent, by a curious irony, in taking out the greater part of the coloured glass in the ante-Chapel, to provide which the fund had originally been formed.

Dr. Griffiths's fund.

The north choir windows, 1614.

Putting on one side the two foreign windows, it is probable that the oldest glass in the Chapel by a few years is the series of David and fourteen prophets on the north side. These figures have been so much injured by alterations, and have been repaired in so bungling a way with common plumber's glass, and vulgar daubing in enamel colours, that it is hardly fair to judge them severely. It is unfortunate that the date under Malachi, who ought to close the series, is imperfect, 16 . . Were it complete it would probably be 1613 or 1614, and the artist would seem to have been Robert Rudland, of Oxford, whose name frequently appears in the Building Accounts. He was employed generally for the 'white glass,' or ordinary glazing, of rooms throughout the College[1], but there is an entry of £7. 7*s.* 0*d.* paid to him for twenty-one foot of '*paynted glaffe*' on July 3, 1613. He seems not to have given satisfaction, for it must be to him that the Foundress refers in her letter to the Warden of March 28, 1614:—

Robert Rudland, glazier.

[1] Building Accounts, fol. ccxxi, ccxxiv.

* * * I would haue you alſo to end wth y^or^ old Glaſier that there may be noe more brabbling with him, but my minde is to haue the like Statues made, if you can gett it well done, that it may a little make shew for what purpoſe that place was appointed.

In consequence of this Rudland was paid off at once and gave his formal receipt [1]:—

A^o^. D^ni^ 1614 Aprill the 18th

It is concluded and agreed between the Warden and ffellowes of Wadham College of the one partye and Robert Rudland of Oxon of the other partye, that for and in conſideratyc of the Summe of nyneteen pounds to him payde at the feaſt of S^t^. John Baptist next followinge the date hereof, he doth acknowledge him ſelf ſatiſfyed and payde for all the painted glaſſe in the Chappell of the fayde Colledge; and promiſeth to free the College frō all future payments; to this he hath ſubſcribed in the presence of theſe whoſe names are under written.

Witneſses ROBERT RUDLAND.
John Fletcher
Richard Trewren.

The merits of the glass which I suppose to be Rudland's may best be estimated from the figures of David, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, next the east end, of which those of the two prophets seem to have been transposed, for the figure above the cartouche of Jeremiah has the saw proper to Isaiah. These three are pretty well preserved in their original state. They are coarsely designed, and the figures are ill-proportioned, the hands and feet especially being badly drawn and enormously too big. Their general decorative effect, however, is fairly good. The others in this series have been very much altered, and some of them retain scarcely anything of the original glass. In the second window from the east Ezekiel has hardly any original work. Daniel has a new head, and Amos has an old head and everything else new. The next window has very little of the original glass remaining, and the others have suffered a good deal, the new work in all cases being executed in a disgracefully bungling way, and done, one may almost imagine, by the College plumber. The north choir windows.

The windows on the south side of the choir are dated in two places 1616, and are by far the best in the Chapel. Unfortunately we do not know the name of the artist. The figures are good, and many of them expressive; that of Stephen with the stone in his hand is conceived with much originality. The draperies are of pot-metal, some of it very fine in The south choir windows. 1616.

[1] Warden's MSS. No. 23.

colour, the blues especially being very pleasing. The background and sky is painted in enamels, which have stood the test of time very well, and the grassy field on which the figures are placed is very prettily painted with flowers and leaves. Jacobean cartouches fill the bottom of the lights, each bearing an inscription, and each apostle is named on the background, or in some cases in the cartouche.

The inscriptions are these :—

Under our Lord,

> Data est Mihi Omnis Potestas in cælo et in terra. Ite in Vniversum Mundum et Docete Omnes Gentes Baptizantes Eos in Nomine patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

Under each of the twelve Apostles is the sentence of the creed attributed to him :—

> *Etrvs. Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem cœli et terræ.
> S. Andreas. Et in Iesum Christũ Filium Eius vnicum.
> S. Iohannes. Qui Conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto natus ex Maria Virgine.
> S. Iacobus. Paſſus Sub Pontio Pilato Crucifixus Mortûs et Sepultus.
> S. Phillipvs. Descendit ad inferna tertia die Resurrexit a mortuis.
> S. Bartholomævs. Ascendit Ad Coelos sedet ad Dexteram Dei Omnipotentis.
> S. Thomas. Inde Venturus Est Iudicare Viuos Et Mortuos.
> S. Matthævs. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum.
> S. Iacobvs Minor. Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam sanctorum communionem.
> S. Simon. Remiſſionem Peccatorum.
> S. Ivdas. Carnis Resurrectionem.
> S. Matthias. Et vitam Æternam. Amen ; Añõ Doñi 1616:

Under St. Paul, who is not named, is the following :—

> Ego Enim Sum Minimus Apostolorum qui Non sum Dignus Vocari Apostolus, Quoniam Persecutus sum Ecclesiam Dei. Gratia Autè Dei Sum Quod sum, Et Gratia Eius in Me temere non Fuit.

Under the last figure is

> S. Stephanvs. ANo. 1616.

In point of execution these windows are unusually good of their kind. They are far less heavily matted and loaded with enamel and shading than most glass of the date, and consequently the colour is pure and clear, and the light passes freely through them. This quality is in their case of especial value, because as the upper lights of the windows above the transome are, and always have been, glazed with clear white glass, heavy

glass in the lower lights would have looked black and dirty. To this free admission of light by the upper half of the windows while the lower half is filled with colour, the cheerful effect of Wadham Chapel is largely due; and it is strange that the same idea has not been carried out in other churches with transomed windows [1].

The great east window bears the name of its artist and the date 1622. Its history is complete. We have an account of its maker, and the particulars of its cost, for which £100 was provided by the liberality of Sir John Strangways, one of the co-heirs of the Founder. In seeking an artist for the work the College had recourse to the advice of a Mr. Thomas Langton, who lived in London, and who appears by his letter to have been concerned with the provision of new painted windows in St. Paul's Cathedral, probably out of the present of £500 made for that purpose before 1616 by Mr. William Parker, citizen and merchant-taylor [2]. The east window, 1622.

Langton had been in treaty for the St. Paul's windows with a young Dutchman named Van Ling, of Emden on the Hanoverian side of the Dollart, lately come from Paris, whom he now recommended to Warden Smyth as a proper artist for the window at Wadham [3].

(Endorsed) To the Right Worfhipfull
Doctor Smith Warden
of Wadham College
Oxford
The agreemt wth Bernard van Ling
for painting ye Chappell = East window.

Laus Deo. In Londõ the xjth Julij ∂ 1621.

Worſhipfull Sr. Since owre Conference at your beinge in Londõ I have endevored the beſt that is in me to effecte your deſire for the excellent makinge of yor window and have contracted wth a glaſier, by nativitye, Letter of Thomas Langton, 1621.

[1] On a larger scale this effect was to be seen at Westminster Abbey, where the play of light from the clerestory windows filled with white glass was delightful. Now unfortunately they are being or have been filled with coloured glass, and the effect is spoiled. Another famous instance of coloured glass used in combination with clear white glass is at Nuremburg, where the long apse windows at I think both the Lorenz-kirche and the Sebalds-kirche have rich painted glass in the lower part, ending with canopy work about two-thirds of the way up, the rest being of ordinary white glass.

[2] 'Gentleman's Magazine,' Oct. 1850. Article on the Van Linges by Mr. John Gough Nichols. I have failed to obtain any information about Thomas Langton. Dr. Sparrow Simpson, Sub dean of St. Paul's, assures me his name is not to be found in any of the chapter records.

[3] Warden's MSS. No. 33.

his Grandfather and his father were brave workemen, in the cittie of Emden where this yonge man hath had his education in the fame pfeffion and hath wrought 4 yeares in Parris in fraunce upon greate or hiftiory worke now the troubles beinge ther this youth depts thence & comes for England whoe havinge ben here three dayes then was prefented to me by a very fufficient m̃chunt Stranger as is in Londõ, whoe did dwell in Emden & did know this youth from a child. I have fene his draufts and is an excellent Penfill man and of fober and good carriage not given to Drinke. I have fent you the Contracte it selfe wch If you dare give Credite to me wilbe the beft & fitteft workeman for you. If you pleafe not to accept of him and our agreement I praye write me that I put the man to noe charge for hee muft prefently fall to worke or hee will dept the Lande: I have fet your Colledge before St Paule's Church for if you doe not entertayne him prefently then will I fet him In worke in Paules and after hee have wroughte here it will be hard for you to agree wth him upon thefe conditions, for I am fure I am wthin compas of your 100^{l} & thus I explayne it. I fupofe your windowe at the moft to bee 300 foote of Glaffworke Square measure and not above.

fo the workemans work for fo much & his penfill collers will amonte

unto at 3^{s} 4 the foote is	50.	0.	0
the glaffe wch you are to finde his will coſte	12.	0.	0
Your Lead for the windowe Leffe then	01.	0.	0
Your Drafte in paper will Coft	08.	0.	0
	71.	0.	0
The wier for the windo Leffe than	10.	0.	0
& for the maffon to faften Iron for wier	02.	0.	0
	83.	0.	0
a nealing oven to neale the glaffe	02.	0.	0
	85.	0.	0
Then is there for his Chamber & diate	15.	0.	0
	100.	0.	0

In these all I have fet downe wth the mofte for I Doubt your windowe is not 300^{f} and for the Reft I am within Compaffe and have fet Downe wth the moft for his Diat & a Chamber I fupofe he maye have in Oxford for x$_{£}$ p. ann If hee eate & Drinke at the Colledge wch is but a fmall matter then you fave that 10 pounds. Thus you fee how you maye haue youre worke workemen Like Done wch if it bee you will thinke well of mee if not then is Difcretion in queftion fo I Rune a hazard. In this bufines but whether it Contene or not I am fure you have frõ me wth a cleane Harte & Cleane hands and you may fupofe it is like to be well & Truly performe becaufe the workeman Defireth no monney for his worke before hee hath finifhed wch I knowe none of oure workemen but will have a

great pt before they begine to worke. myſelfe entertayned one workmã for poules that hath 40′ before hand wch wilbe loſt ſuch is there ſubtilty that they will by one meanes or other get before hand wth you. But if you entertayne this man Let him haue no more monney then is agreed upon till hee haue done all or ſo much as you maye be ſure that the monney that you have allwayes 40′ to paye at Laſte & at the end of the worke it wilbe moſt pleaſinge to giue I have Left out ſkaffoldinge wch is but a very ſmall matter, and if hee maye have the Chamber in the Colledge then our Glaſiers here can put no tricks upon him for am ſure there wilbe attempt. becauſe they would have him Depte the Land. for they have alredy be abaytinge him and have abuzed me to him as Mr. Mabe can tell you for they have tould him that the worke in Poules Coſt 8^s^ p. foote and I found all of it Coſt but 6^s^ & they found all wch were the workemen. and now for the ſettinge forward of this your worke I will let you have Collered Glaſſe out of that wch I pvided for Poules for I am sure there is not any to be bought in England b^t^ that wch is in my Custody. and ſo I dare to take out w^th^out any offence to any for I did ſend for the Glaſſe upon my owne adventure. I have left out of your 100′ the charges of the glaſier cominge to Oxfo^r^d & the Carridge of the glaſſe but theſe are triſells and all wthin Compaſſe; upõ his Cominge downe, hee muſt buy glaſſe there for I praye ſend me the true meaſure of the windowe how manny foote of glaſe there is in the whole & ſo I can fitt you wthout waſte. This not forgettinge my Love unto and the worke you have in hand I end & Reſt your wo^r^ſhips Lovinge

freand Thomas Langton.

The following is the agreement between the College and Bernard Van Ling, drawn by Mr. Langton, and signed by Van Ling, in the presence of witnesses[1].

Contract with Van Ling, 1621.

(Endorsed) The agreement wth the Glaſyer
Londõ the vj^th^ of Julij ã 1621.

I Barnarde van Linge of Emden in Eaſt Freesland doe pmiſe to Goe to the univerſitie of Oxford to Wadame Colledge there to Continew to worke the workinge of one window in Collered glaſſe wth the Hiſtiro of the Natiuitie & paſſion of our bleſſed SAUIOUR beinge the Eaſt windowe of the ſayd waddã Colledge Chapel. Ore any othe Canonikall hiſtory as ſhalbe Thoughte moſt meete for the place. And for the fullfillinge of this worke the wo^r^ſhip^ll^ the warden is to finde all manner of Materiall for the worke excepte the Paynter, wch is to be Layde & nealed upon the Glaſſe and the fore ſayd Barnard is to have for his worke Three ſhillings iiij^d^ for each foote Square, fflat meaſure, for his worke & Paynter. and to have his Chamber in the Colledge wth meate Drinke

[1] Warden's MSS. No. 32.

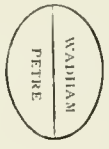
and Lodginge. The Warden to builde him an oven to neale his Glaſe in to finde white glaſs and collered Glaſs Lead and all other neceſsaries as Paper & Paterne and if the Warden will have the fore ſayd Barnard to Drawe the Paterne himſelfe Thẽ he is to haye vj^{l}. xiij^{s} iiij^{d} for his paynes for that worke. and to have his Paper found for him and ſkaffoldinge to take meaſures set up, and the Howſe to beare his charges to & fro Londõ for the worke onely and further I the fore sayd Barnard Doe pmiſe to beginge this worke preſently and not to doe any other worke for any one whoeſoever before I have cleerely finiſhed this windowe wch I will pforme with as much expedicion as I can to doe it worke man like in every condition, and not to haue any monney till hee hath ben tow or three month at worke and then to have ffortye ſhillings or three pounds & the reſt of his monney to be payd him when the worke is finiſhed by him. The Warden is goe give him a ſmall modell in paper that the worke man maye be the better direted to satiffe the expectation of the Howſe in witneſſe whereof

I have ſet to my Hand and ſeale heeron the daye and yeare above written.

BERENDT VAN LING

Teste
Jacobo Mab
Thoma^{s} Langton
W^{m} Fiſcher

(Sealed with these arms)



On the back is a memorandum of the receipt by the glass painter of the first instalment of his money.

Van Ling's partial receipt, 1621.

27° Nouember, 1621.

Receau^{d} in pte of payment for the worke w^{thin} expreſsed . . . . . iij^{li}

By me BERENDT VAN LINGE.

The final payment was not made till Mar. 10, 16$\frac{9}{2}\frac{9}{3}$, twenty months from the date of the contract, but inasmuch as Van Ling only received '*battels*' for ten months and one week, either the beginning of the work must have been postponed, or the final payment delayed. As he has dated the glass 1622 the former is the more likely explanation. The receipt runs thus[1]:—

Bernard Van Ling's final receipt, 1622.

March 10, Anno Dñi—— 1622.

Receaved the day & yeare above written By mee Bernard Van Linge a Duchman of William Payton Master of Artes & fellow of wadham College in the Univ^{r}ſity of Oxforde the ſome of Thirty poundes of good Enliſh & Currant money beinge the laſt payment in full discharge for all the worke on glaſſe wch I

[1] Warden's MSS. No. 34. 1622 is of course the date according to old style; otherwise we do not have even ten months.

didd myſelfe or cauſed to be donne for the ſayde College in Conſideration of wch ſome I doe acquitt them from anie debt to be demaunded by mee from the beginninge of the worlde untill this verie day I ſay receaved xxx^{li}

BERNARD VAN LING

In the p̄ſence of us
John Pytt
Ffrancſ Strode
Nicholas How

Next in order of the Warden's manuscripts is the summary by the Bursars of the whole cost of the window, as follows[1]:—

Summary of expense of east window.

The whole Charge of the great Eaſterne windowe in Wad Coll Chappell.

Mat. Ofbornes note	100^{li}		
M^{r} Eaſtcots note	10^{li}	0	8^{l}
bat. in the buttery	2	17	8
Sum	112	18	8
The ſame more pticularly			
for making the patternes	6	13	4
for the worke in glaſſe	51	0	0
more for glaſſe, iron worke, wyer and other Charges ſpecified in a note by Mat. Osborne	48^{li}	0	0
other Charges in Mr Eastcot's accompt.	4^{li}	7	4
for his battels 10 moneths and one weeke	2	17	8
Sum	112^{li}	18^{s}	4

More the wyermans dyet	8^{s}	5	
Carpēters bevers	10	7	
	19	1^{d}	
Sum tot expēſ	113^{li}	17	5^{d}

The smallness of the sum paid for 'making the patternes' is very curious, for the cost of the design and cartoons made by artists at the present day is nearly half that of the total cost of the window. The probable explanation is that just as in the case of designs for buildings the architect or master-mason was paid only a few pounds or shillings for making a 'draught' of the intended structure, because the drawings so

Cost of the patterns.

[1] Warden's MSS. No. 35. Gutch has fallen into a strange mistake in a note to the mention of this window by Wood, 'Colleges and Halls,' p. 604, when he says 'this window is said to have cost £1500.'

made were merely rough explanatory sketches and not what we should call working drawings[1], so in the case of the stained glass there were no finished cartoons such as we make, but merely rough sketches, outlined full size, from which the glass was cut; and the details of drapery, faces, diapers, and backgrounds, were drawn and painted directly upon the glass without any preliminary drawings on paper. This mode of glass painting is of course only possible when the artist and craftsman are the same person, and there is no doubt that if it were the practice at the present day we should have fewer failures in this branch of art.

The Van Lings, Bernard and Abraham.

Not much is certainly known about the Van Lings, of whom there were two, Bernard and Abraham, whose relationship to one another is a matter of conjecture. Various windows in England are attributed to one or other of them. Horace Walpole mentions the Wadham window, and also the windows in Lincoln's Inn Chapel on account of their bearing the name Bernard and the date 1623[2], but Mr. John Gough Nichols, after examining the windows at Lincoln's Inn, could only find the initials R. B., which are clearly not Van Ling's[3]. The glass in the Chapel at Wroxton, which Walpole says was by Bernard Van Ling, and dated 1632, is no longer in existence to help us to any conclusion. The examples of Abraham Van Ling's work are more numerous. In 1631 he painted Jonah sitting under a gourd in a window of the south aisle of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, which is signed with his name. In 1634 more windows in the same Church were put in, 'admirably well performed by the exquisite hand of Abraham Van Ling, a Dutchman,' to admit which the 'fine architecture or crustation of those windows was cut or sawn away[4].' This glass was broken and removed in 1648, but repaired and replaced after the Restoration. There are four windows by Abraham Van Ling in Queen's Chapel, signed and dated 1635, which were repaired by Joshua Price in 1717, and two at Balliol, signed and dated 1637, representing Philip and the eunuch, and Hezekiah's sickness and recovery. The glass in Lincoln College Chapel, which has been attributed to Bernard Van Ling, is said by Wood to have been procured from Italy in 1629 by Archbishop Williams, the builder of the

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[1] v. supra, pp. 33 and 35.
[2] 'Anecdotes,' vol. ii. p. 28, Ed. 1782.
[3] 'Gentleman's Magazine,' Oct. 1850.
[4] Wood, 'Colleges and Halls,' p. 462.

Chapel[1]. It bears the date 1616, and has little resemblance to the Wadham window.

The East window at Wadham depicts, as was promised, the history of the Passion of our Lord, which is given in a series of ten pictures arranged in two tiers in the five lights. Bernard Van Ling seems to have been assisted in 'making the patternes' by the engravings in an interesting book, 'Meditationes in Evangelia,' by Hieronymus Natalis, printed at Antwerp in 1595[2], part of Dr. Bisse's present to the College, and still preserved in the Library. The plates are designed by Martin de Vos, and engraved by Hieronymus Wierx. The east window described.

The five lights of the window are entirely filled by the pictures without any ornament or canopy work, and the effect of this is excellent. The subjects, beginning at the left hand, are as follows :—

In the Lower Tier—

1. The triumphal entry into Jerusalem. This is adapted from De Vos.
2. The agony in the garden. This is not like the plate by De Vos.
3. The betrayal. In this the figures of Peter and Malchus are taken from De Vos. The rest not.
4. Jesus before Caiaphas. Adapted from De Vos, with some variation.
5. Pilate offering Jesus or Barabbas to the people. This follows De Vos very closely.

In the Upper Tier—

6. The Flagellation. Closely copied from De Vos, including the accessories of a block and an axe for beheading criminals. The form of the block—a low rounded bar of wood—throws some light on the dispute as to the mode in which Charles I was beheaded. In the distance is the crowning with thorns taken from another plate of De Vos.
7. Christ bearing his cross, and in the distance the 'Ecce homo,' and Pilate washing his hands. This is adapted from two plates of De Vos.
8. The Crucifixion. Unlike De Vos, probably original.
9. The Resurrection. Unlike De Vos, probably original.
10. The Ascension. Unlike De Vos, probably original, but the two angels below the ascending figure are taken from De Vos.

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[1] 'Colleges and Halls,' p. 251. See also the article by Mr. Grinling in Proceedings of Oxford Archit. Society for 1883.

[2] See appendix to Chapter XIV by Mr. Gordon Duff, who was the first to observe this, so far as I know.

At the foot of these lights an inscription records HEC FENESTRA ORNATA EST SVMPTIBVS DÑI. JOHANNIS STRANGWAYES MILITIS VNIVS EX COHEREDIBVS FVNDATORIS, and in the right-hand bottom corner is BERNARD VAN LING. FECIT. 1622.

The eight larger tracery lights contain four other 'Canonical histories,' typical of our Lord's Passion, each occupying two lights. 1. The Sacrifice of Isaac; 2. the Brazen Serpent; 3. the Translation of Elijah; 4. Jonah and the Whale. The smaller tracery lights have eight heraldic panels, four cherubs, and the sun and moon. The general effect of this great window is very fine, and it has few rivals in Oxford, but on closer examination it will be found very inferior in brilliancy of colour, and in merit of drawing, to the South windows. The matting is very heavy and is carried over nearly the whole surface, and the figures are overshaded. How much of this may be due to repairs of a later date than Van Ling's work it is impossible to say. But it is curious to find that in 1742, whether owing to damages received during the Civil War, or for other reasons, the window was so much out of repair that a considerable sum, not much less than its original cost, was subscribed for repairing it. So large a sum must have been more than enough for merely refixing, or even releading it, and there may have been a good deal more done to it than can now be traced.

Repairs to east window in 1742.

Contributors [1] by Promise
to the Repair of the Eaftern window
in Wadham College Chapel.

		Rec[d] by G. Wyndham.
M[rs] Horner	Rec[d] by D[r] Lisle	52 10 0
L[d] Wyndham	Rec[d] by Geo. Wyndham	10 10 0
M[r] John Wyndham	Rec[d] by Geo. Wyndham	10 10 0
M[r] Helyar Wadham Wyndham	Rec[d] by Geo. Wyndham	10 10 0
The Rev[d]. M[r] Hofte	Rec[d] by Geo. Wyndham	5 0 0
M[r] James Harris	Rec[d] by Geo. Wyndham	3 3 0
Sir Hugh Briggs	Rec[d] by Geo. Wyndham	5 5 0
M[r] Walter Acton Mofeley		

[1] Warden's MSS. No. 124. Endorsed, 'Contributors to Repair of Eastern window, 1742.' The 'Convention Book' records a resolution on July 29, 1742, '*that the Warden and such Fellows as shall be present in College be impowered to treat with Rowel or Price, glass-stainers, concerning repairing the East window in the Chappel, and in case the said work cannot be perform[d] in College to agree that y[e] Glass may be carryd to some other Place for y[t] purpose.*'

Mrs. Horner, the largest contributor, was the daughter and coheiress of Thomas Strangways, Esq., of Melbury, county Dorset, the last lineal descendant of the original donor of the window. She was the widow of Thomas Horner, Esq., of Mells, who died in 1741. Their daughter and sole heiress married Sir Stephen Fox, ancestor of the Earls of Ilchester, who have taken the name of Strangways. Mrs. Horner.

The brass lectern, which is not among the best in Oxford, though its design shows some originality, was given in 1691, and bears this inscription with the donor's arms[1]:— The lectern.

Ex Dono Thomæ Lear de Lindridge in
Comitatu Devoniæ Militis et Baronetti
M. DCLXXXXI.

The pulpit is a very good one of Jacobean design, no doubt coeval with the College, and quite perfect[2]. Like most College pulpits, it is moveable, and when in use its place, as appears by the plate in Ackerman's 'Oxford' as well as by Mr. Eagles' sketch, and also by the plan in Williams's 'Oxonia depicta,' was at the east end of the south stalls, whence it was presumably removed by Mr. Blore in 1832. It now stands idly in the ante-Chapel, and it is much to be desired that it should be replaced. The pulpit.

Among the minor fittings of the Chapel may be mentioned two flat cushions of tapestry work, perhaps the only survivors of '15 mats for the Chapple,' for which a sum of three shillings was paid on June 19, 1613. One of them bears a pattern of crowns and rosettes, and the other a Tudor rose surmounted by a royal crown, and with a small lion passant on each side of it. Cushions for the stalls.

The old Communion table, like many other things, disappeared from the Chapel at the 'restoration' in 1832, and after many vicissitudes found its way back to the ante-Chapel, where it now serves to bear a handsome set of service books presented to the Society by Speaker Onslow, a member of the College. The Communion table of splendid Jacobean work, now in use, has a curious history. It was till lately the Communion table of Ilminster Church, and may be old enough for the Founder and The Communion Table.

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[1] The lectern was illustrated in the 'Building News' of June 4, 1886.

[2] In her final statute the Foundress provides for sermons to be preached by clerical members of the Foundation, '*pro concionibus publicis in Academia, vel privatis in Collegio meo habendis.*'

Foundress to have communicated at it. It was discarded and thrown aside when the church was 'restored' a few years ago, in favour of a modern one, and was redeemed by Mr. Stowe, the Senior Bursar of the College, who presented it to the Chapel in 1889. A silver plate let into the oak margin records its history, and another on the underside certain conditions attached to the gift[1].

The ante-Chapel.

The ante-Chapel is divided into a central space or nave, with an aisle[2] or transept on each side, by twin arches springing from central columns in the lines of the north and south walls of the choir. There is of course nothing new in the conception of this, for it had been done first at New College and imitated at Magdalen and All Souls, but it is carried out here with considerable daring and freedom. With this exception, and that of William Arnold's curious window traceries, the ante-Chapel has no particular architectural interest, but forms a grand vestibule to the choir. It had originally three entrances; a central one for grand occasions, under a heavy classic pediment in the quadrangle; another from the cloister; and a third, intended apparently for ordinary use, in the passage leading to the garden. The door to the cloister is now closed: its object was no doubt to give ready communication to the College burying-ground. For the Foundress' care provided her Society with its own cemetery, and the space now thrown into the garden lying between the Chapel and kitchen wings was the old churchyard, long used for interments, and still retaining at least one tombstone sunk in the grass sward, and bearing the inscription:—

The Cemetery.

HERE LIETH Ye BODY OF ROBERT ROGERS WHO DIED Ye 31 OF AUGUST A° DNI. 1676[3].

The Cloister consecrated for burials.

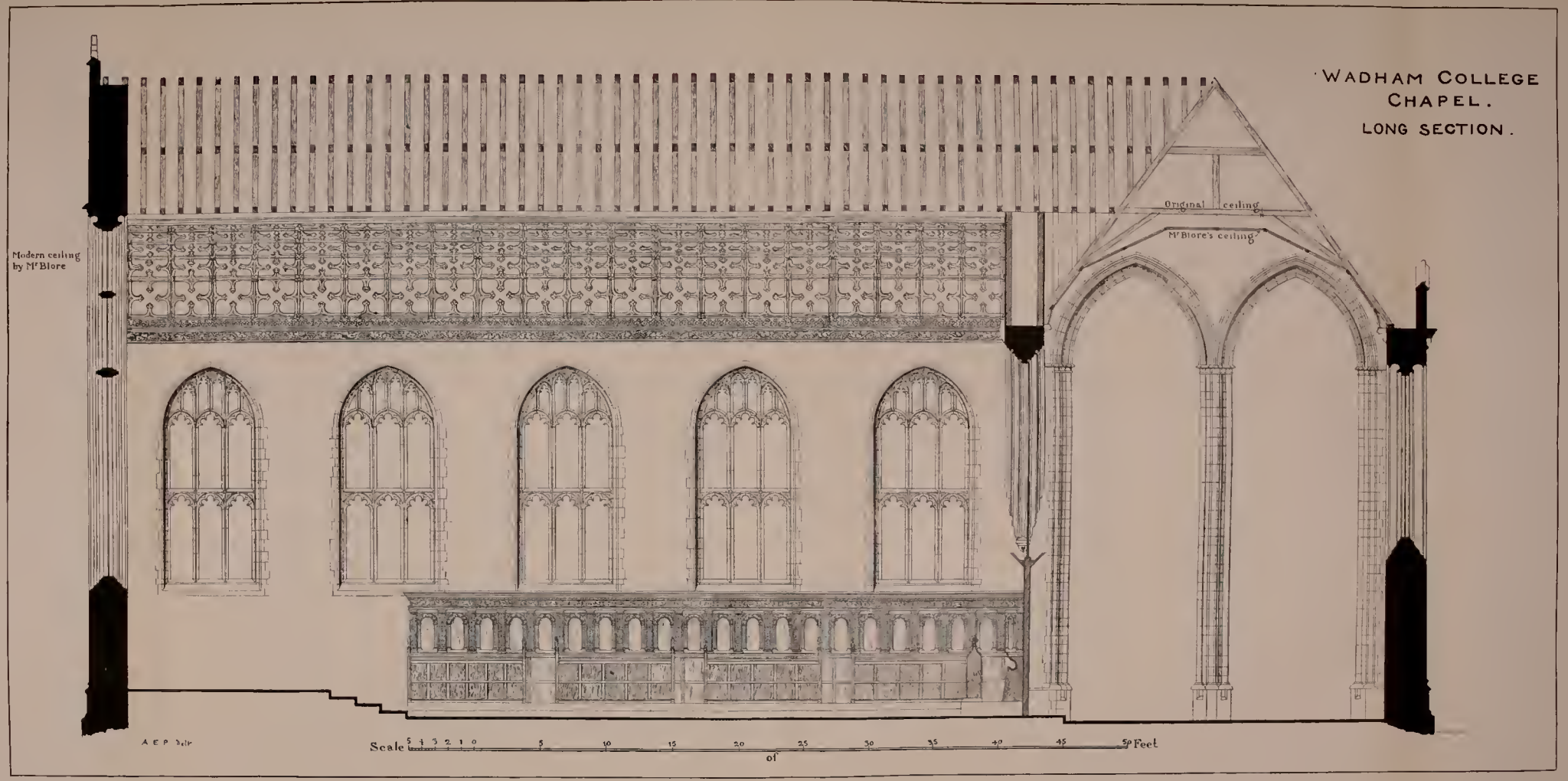
This cemetery is consecrated ground, dedicated on the same day as the Chapel; and so is the cloister itself, although it serves, and must always have served, as the way by which the dinner is carried from the kitchen to the Hall. The ante-Chapel also is full of interments. The stones that marked them,—often only by the initials of the person laid below,—have been a good deal shifted and disarranged, but some are *in situ*; and here may still be found the epitaph of the decayed gentleman,

Interments in the Chapel.

[1] 'Convention Book,' Dec. 6, 1889.

[2] It is spoken of as the 'Ile,' in the Building Accounts.

[3] Perhaps a servant. He does not appear in Mr. Gardiner's Register.


WADHAM COLLEGE
CHAPEL.
LONG SECTION.
Modern ceiling
by Mr Blore
Original ceiling
Mr Blore's ceiling
A E P del.
Scale 5 4 3 2 1 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 Feet
of

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the Foundress' poor relation, whom she put into the butler's place at the first institution of her Society— John Buller, died 1634.

HERE LYETH IOHN. BULLER. ESQVIER. AV : THE SECOND. 1634.

Wood gives a long list of burials in the outer chapel, and mentions some in the churchyard, and others in the cloister[1]. Very few are recorded as having been buried in the inner Chapel; but Wardens Fleming and Estcot were laid near the altar, and Sir John Portman, who died in 1624, æt. 19, lies on the north side at the east end of the stalls, where his monument originally stood, as may be seen by Williams's plan and Mr. Eagles's sketch. It was removed like other things by Mr. Blore, and now stands, much less picturesquely, against the north wall of the ante-Chapel. It is, as Wood says, '*a very fair monument, on which is the proportion of a beautiful young man laying on his right side habited in a coloured gown*' and leaning on his elbow; at his feet is a Talbot couched, and over him are the figures of Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, &c. Above are Time with his scythe, and the heraldic bearings of the deceased. Monument of Sir John Portman.

Close by is the monument of Thomas Harris, Fellow, who died 1614, a youth of great promise, whose loss the Foundress lamented. The tablet is curiously formed of a trophy of books, bound and clasped and set with their fronts outward as at that time they were usually placed on the shelves. This idea was afterwards in fashion for book-plates, as for instance that of Sir Philip Sydenham dated 1699, which has been repeatedly copied. Tablet of Thomas Harris.

In the south aisle or transept under a large black marble slab lies Doctor Humphrey Hody, Regius Professor of Greek, and Archdeacon of Oxford, who died in 1706, together with Edith his wife, who died in 1736. Dr. Hody was Scholar and Fellow and a great benefactor to the College, to which he bequeathed most of his property to found Exhibitions. Tomb of Dr. Hody.

The only remarkable monument of recent date is one to the memory of Lord Chancellor Westbury, once Scholar and afterwards Fellow of the House, erected in obedience to his own express desire. He left his bust to the College, trusting that the College would Monument to Lord Westbury.

> place it either in the Hall or Library, with such inscription (to be put up at the expense of his estate) as the College should approve. He hoped also that

[1] See also Warden's MSS. No. 69: 'A register of burials in Wadham College Chapel and churchyard since the foundation of the College in 1613.' Found by Dr. Tournay on his taking possession of the Warden's lodgings. It is dated 1646.

the College would allow his executors to erect in the outer chapel of the College a plain marble tablet to his memory expressing the principal events of his life, beginning with his being elected a Scholar of the College on the day he attained fifteen years of age, from which event he dated all his prosperity[1].

Stained glass in the ante-Chapel.

The ante-Chapel windows were first filled with stained glass between 1837 and 1840 by means of the subscription of which Dr. Griffiths has recorded the history[2]. The six facing east and north were filled with heavily matted grisaille quarries forming a field for shields on cartouches, three to each light, bearing the arms of Wardens and eminent members of the College. The effect of these in excluding light was considerable, and when the four western windows were filled with figures in heavily shaded colour and with backgrounds that are nearly black, the whole ante-Chapel was plunged into a melancholy gloom that was most depressing. The four windows last named were by Evans of Shrewsbury, and two of them were by the ingenuity of Dr. Symons, then Warden, provided at the expense of 'Domus,' on the ground which he has, as was his habit, carefully recorded in the minute book, that 'the cost would not exceed the sum required for glazing all the windows in the ante-Chapel with plain glass, for which Domus was liable as a *necessary repair*; and there was a reasonable expectation at the same time that the other windows in the ante-Chapel would be ornamented with glass by private liberality[3].' Two of Evans's windows are now hidden by the organ, the other two remain for the present. The other ante-Chapel windows have been reglazed with quarries of white 'muff' glass in geometrical patterns, retaining the scutcheons and heraldry, which were not badly drawn though somewhat over-shaded. The ante-Chapel is thus once more as well lighted as the rest of the interior.

This alteration was made in 1885–6 at the same time as the restoration of the choir windows to their primitive order.

The organ and organ-loft.

It only remains to notice the other work done in the Chapel at the same time or subsequently to the date just mentioned. Some years previously an organ had been provided by subscription for the sake of

[1] 'Convention Book,' Dec. 6, 1873. Copy of letter from the Hon. Slingsby Bethell. The inscription was composed by the Warden, Dr. Griffiths. The monument was made by Messrs. Wyatt of Oxford, from the design of the present writer.

[2] v. supra, p. 160.

[3] 'Convention Book,' May 3, 1837.

introducing a plain musical service like that of an ordinary parish church. The organ stood at first without a case nakedly on the floor of the south transept. In 1886 part of Dr. Griffiths's fund was devoted to constructing an organ-loft at the west end of the Chapel, and a case for the organ. The loft and case are of oak somewhat richly carved[1], and the organ is kept as narrow from front to back as the organ-builder could be induced to make it, in order not to block up the antechapel. The organ itself is a fine instrument, and has gained much musically by its new position: it was built by Mr. Henry Willis, but owes much of its peculiar quality, which wins the admiration of all organists, to the care with which the stops were selected and arranged by the Rev. J. C. Hanbury, one of the Chaplains of the College, and a practical musician of rare accomplishments.

Candlesticks, altar cloth, and dossal.

The two silver and parcel-gilt candlesticks were given in 1889, one by Mr. Wells, a Fellow, and the other by the members of a society in the College called St. Andrew's Guild. In the preceding year a new embroidered altar-cloth and dossal were provided, the former by the liberality of Mr. Henderson, Fellow and Sub-Warden, the latter by a fund raised among the theological students of Dr. Vaughan, Master of the Temple and Dean of Llandaff, who had been accommodated in the College during their visit to Oxford in the Long Vacation[2].

Ritual peculiarity at Wadham.

In conclusion it may be interesting to record a peculiarity in the Chapel ritual at Wadham which survived till about 1856 or 1857. Till then the officiating Chaplain at morning and evening prayers always robed himself like the rest of the Foundation, in white on surplice days, in his gown at other times. This habit, which seems peculiarly appropriate to a Collegiate body and more conformable to the Statutes, has been discontinued, and the Chaplain now always wears a surplice. Many such peculiar customs existed at Oxford till lately, and some still survive. For instance, at Oriel the Fellows used to gather at the

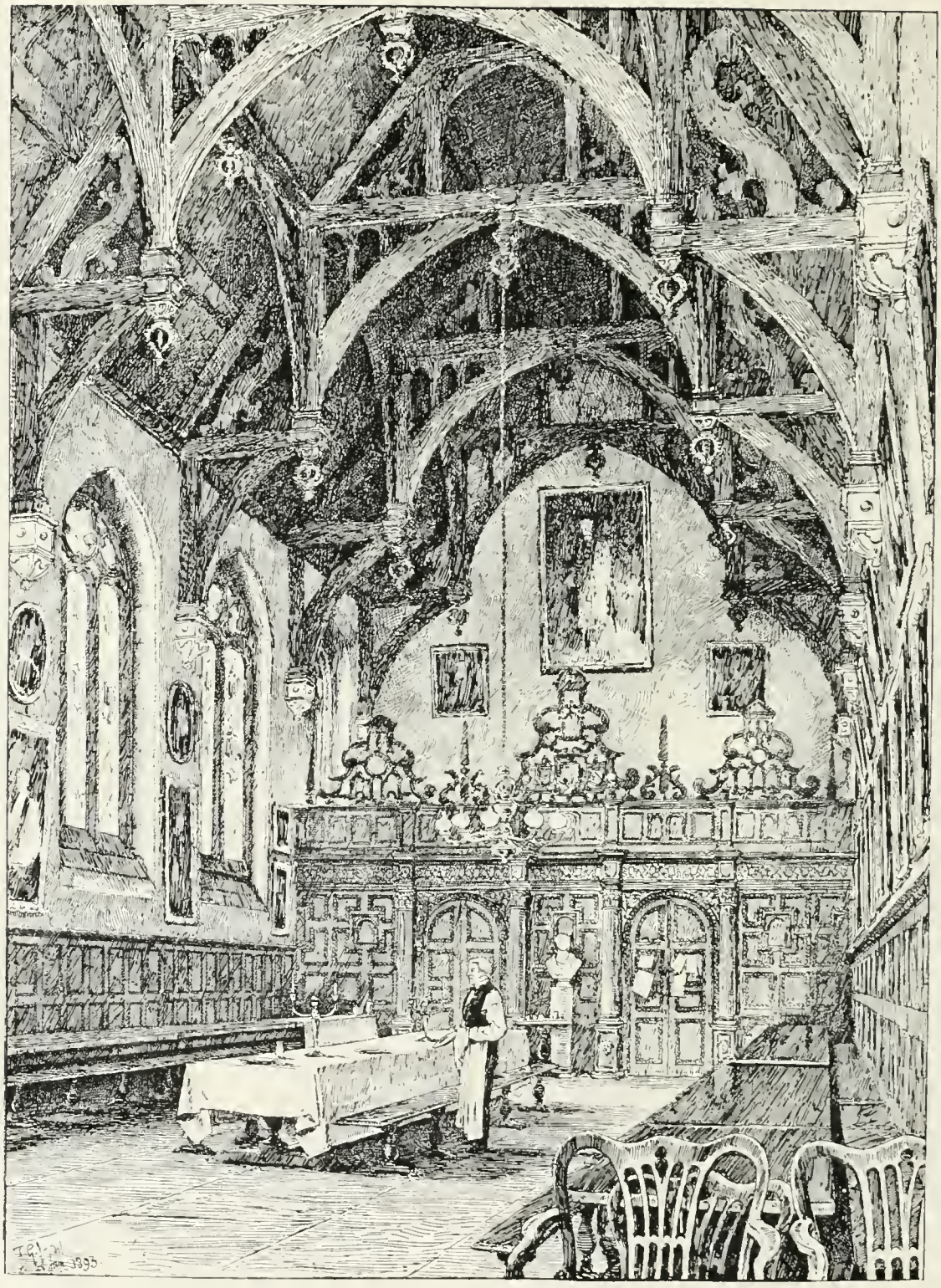
[1] The loft and case were made by Mr. Curtis of Oxford, and the carving was done by Messrs. Farmer and Brindley, of London, the total cost being about £780. The designs were by the present writer. The organ itself cost from first to last £620 exclusive of the case.

[2] The embroideries were done by Messrs. Watts, of Baker Street, London, and the candlesticks made by Messrs. Hart and Co., of Wych Street, London, in both cases from the present writer's designs.

Communion rail when the words of invitation, 'Draw near,' &c., were said. This is now discontinued; but at St. Mary's Church and at the Cathedral the Sacrament is still brought round to the communicants kneeling in the stalls, which are prepared with white linen cloths laid on the desks in front of them.

Elections in chapel.

According to the Statutes the election of the Warden and Probationers, and the admission of Probationers to full Fellowship, were to take place in the Chapel. In the two former cases the common prayers were first to be said, and at the election of a Warden every Fellow was to attend the service unless lawfully hindered, under pain of deprivation. This statute was observed till 1872, when Dr. Griffiths, shortly after his election to the Wardenship, proposed and carried its repeal.



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THE HALL: INTERIOR VIEW

CHAPTER XIII

THE HALL.

The Hall, which is among the largest in Oxford, is a fine room measuring from wall to wall 83 ft. in length and 27 ft. in width. The great east window and the three-light windows in the sides are filled with William Arnold's singular tracery[1], and it has the conventional oriel or bay window at the lower end of the High Table. The roof, made by Thomas Holt the carpenter[2], is a grand though somewhat heavy piece of open timber work, with hammer-beam construction, and arched braces both transverse and longitudinal. The surfaces of the ceiling between the main timbers are of stucco painted, like those in the Chapel; but originally the ceiling was of white plaster. The walls are lined with panelling of oak, which was originally much higher, reaching partly up the side of the windows. As in the Chapel, this woodwork had from the first been painted, and when, in 1872, Dr. Tournay's paint was removed and the natural oak exposed, it appeared that the surface had been at one time painted red and at another green.

The roof.

The panelling.

The screen enclosing the buttery passage is one of the two made by John Bolton, carver and joiner, and is a fine piece of Jacobean work

The buttery screen.

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[1] William Arnold received for working (labour only) the great end window £10, for the oriel or bay window £7, and each of the side windows £3 18*s*. Building Accounts, Dec. 11, 1611, to May 7, 161½.

[2] This is probably the same carpenter who contracted for the woodwork in the south quadrangle of Merton in 1608, '*Circa initiũ Maij decrevimus dño custode approbante ut quidam Thomas Holt effet faber lignarius pro toto ædificio construendo.*' His contract was for £430 and the expense of his journey. Merton College MS. Register. Holt was no more architect of Merton than he was of Wadham. The *faber lapidarius* was John Acroyde of Halifax, who contracted for all the *opus lapidarium* at £570 and the expense of his journey.

surmounted by open brattishing like the other screen in the Chapel, though the design here is not so elaborate.

The lantern. In the centre of the roof is a lantern, now glazed, but at first no doubt open for the escape of smoke from a brazier on the floor below[1], a veritable 'impluvium,' as it is elsewhere described. There was originally no fireplace, and though no actual mention of the brazier occurs, the Hall can have been warmed in no other way. Dr. Johnson told Warton, 'In these halls the fireplace was anciently always in the middle of the room till the Whigs removed it on one side[2].' The brazier continued at

The fireplace. Wadham till 1797, when, not perhaps entirely out of Whiggery, it was resolved

> to make a chimney and Fireplace with a grate in the west side of the College Hall, nearly opposite to the Library door[3].

However it would seem that some other expedient was adopted, for in 1826 it was resolved to carry out a design of Mr. Daniel Robertson, Architect, for

> a new Chimney piece and firegrate for the College Hall, instead of the present Stove which has been found not to answer the intended purpose.

This is the fireplace and grate still in use, the design being imitated from the Jacobean ornaments of the screens. In 1837, 'complaints having been made of the great coldness of the Hall it was agreed that some measures be taken to warm it,' but nothing seems to have been done, and I can remember that in my undergraduate days the water used to

Heating apparatus. freeze on the tables at the lower end near the door. It was not till 1872–3 that hot-water pipes were brought to the assistance of the fire, and both Chapel and Hall were for the first time raised to a comfortable temperature in winter.

The floor. The Building Accounts[4] show that the Hall was originally floored with oak, but subsequently the central part was laid with stone flagging, a very

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[1] Willis and Clark, i. 263 and iii. 355, state that at Cambridge braziers were in use for warming the Halls till 1742 at Trinity Hall, 1865 at St. John's, and 1866 at Trinity College.

[2] Clark's 'Colleges of Oxford,' p. 410.

[3] 'Convention Book,' June 30, 1797. As to the Library door see below under Library.

[4] Building Accounts, March 23, $161\frac{9}{1}$: '*Edward Thornton and Wm. Holloway for making 7 great bayes for* (i.e. over) *the great cellar being 27 foote long a bay.*' March 13, $161\frac{3}{3}$: '*Coppthort for bording dñn the Hall*' (twice).

chilly and dusty substitute. This has just been remedied[1], and a wainscot oak floor laid down through the liberality of Mr. Richards, one of the Fellows. The original oak floors remain under the side tables and in the dais.

The ancient glass.

In Wood's time the Hall windows contained in painted glass the arms of Bishops Montague, Lake, and Laud, Visitors of the College, those of Wadham and Petre impaled, Bisse, Strangways, and another which he does not identify[2], but which seems to be that of Dr. Fleming, who was Warden from Sept. 1613 to Mar. 161$\frac{6}{7}$. Also a coat of sixteen quarterings belonging to the Lattons, who were founder's kin through the Martins. Of this glass the Latton escutcheon, with the ornament surrounding it prettily painted in enamels, is now in the lower part of the window that lights the buttery passage from the quadrangle. The rest has made way for some modern heraldic glass on a ground of heavily matted quarries which was put in during Warden Tournay's time in 1827[3]. The glass of the great south window was given by the Warden; the large oriel window was filled with the arms of the chief worthies of the College by the munificence of the Rev. William Wilson, B.D., of Worton, Oxfordshire, Vicar of Walthamstow, Essex; and other members of the College contributed to adorn the side windows with their respective arms[4]. This glass, though respectable for the time when it was done, has the great objection of making the Hall disagreeably dark. It was in Dr. Tournay's time also that the side panelling was painted oak colour and cut down to its present low proportion, a manifest injury to the dignity of the interior[5]. Possibly it was at the same time that the white plaster ceilings between the timbers of the roof were painted and varnished also in imitation of oak, though the analogy of the ceilings in the Chapel would lead one to attribute this alteration to Mr. Blore in 1832.

The modern glass.

Panelling cut down and painted oak, 1806.

The great chandeliers of ormolu gilt are said to have done service at

The chandeliers.

[1] 'Convention Book,' March 4, 1891.

[2] Gules, on a chevron between three owls arg. a crescent sable.

[3] The glass was by Thomas Willement, of Green Street, Grosvenor Square, whose cypher appears in the South window.

[4] Ingram, 'Mem. Oxford,' vol. iii. A key to the whole of the heraldry in these windows will be found in Dr. Griffiths's MS. 'Notes on Wadham College,' p. 82, &c.

[5] 'Convention Book,' July 5, 1806.

the coronation banquet of George IV. They were given to the College by Dr. Tournay.

Lord Westbury's bust.

On a pedestal at the lower end of the Hall against the screen is the marble bust of Lord Chancellor Westbury, once Scholar and Fellow of the College, which he bequeathed to the Society, as has been already related [1].

The portraits.

The pictures are numerous, and several among them are of considerable merit and historical interest: a complete list of them is given at the end of this chapter.

Statutes as to order in Hall.

The order of the Hall dinner and supper is accurately prescribed in the Statutes [2]. At the sound of the bell, or of the horn if there be no bell, all the Fellows and Scholars are to assemble in the Hall and await the arrival of the Warden. All are to join in the responses to the Grace, and no one is to leave the table without leave till Grace is again said. A Clerk or Scholar is to read aloud some part of the Bible during dinner, to which all are to listen in silence under penalty of losing commons for that day. Latin only or some other useful language is to be spoken, and the vernacular tongue to be avoided. As to the order of sitting, Fellows who are Bachelors of Arts, and Chaplains, are to dine together 'sine vindicatione loci,' and the Probationers are allowed to join them. Scholars are to dine by themselves in messes of four, and Commoners and Battellars in the same way, except on fish-days, which are to be observed according to the statutes of the realm. The Warden is to sit at the High Table with the Sub-Warden, and the Doctors of Physic, Law, and Divinity, with whom the Fellows who are Masters of Arts are permitted to sit. The tables are to be cleared at a sign from the Warden or Sub-Warden, and no one is to linger in the Hall after Grace [3].

The Bible to be read, and Latin spoken.

Table for B.A. Fellows and Chaplains.

Scholars' and Commoners' tables.

High Table.

Lower High Table for M.A. Fellows, noblemen, &c.

It was however only by invitation that the M.A. Fellows sat at the High Table: they had a table of their own, to which in the first year of the College it was resolved that the sons of noblemen, and kinsmen of the Founder or Foundress, might be admitted. Two years later, in

[1] See above, p. 173.

[2] Statutes, Cap. 17.

[3] The New College statutes forbid lingering in Hall after dinner and supper, except on Saints' days and holy days in winter when a fire is lighted, and then a reasonable time may be spent in the hall in singing or some other decorous recreation.

1615, Gilbert Stokes, one of the Chaplains, was also admitted to it. It is probable that this table was on the dais, at the foot of the High Table and detached from it, for we read of '*Comensales supremæ mensæ*,' the young noblemen or Founder's kinsmen above referred to, who would certainly not sit with the Warden and Doctors, and also of a '*mensa secunda in suprema parte aulæ*,' at which M.A. Commoners were to dine, together with M.A. Scholars, Probationers, and Chaplains[1], which would be just below the dais on the left hand of the Hall opposite to where the fireplace was afterwards made. The Bursars also had a table of their own, and with them the Steward of the Hall, who was to be a Fellow according to Statute, was to dine and sup after seeing that everything was properly served, nor was he to admit more than three, and they Masters of Arts, to dine or sup with him[2]. This seems to have been a favourite table, for in 1653 under Warden Wilkins Bachelors and Undergraduates whether Fellow Commoners or others are forbidden to sit there unless especially invited by the Bursar or Steward, 'sub pœna 6*d*. toties quoties[3].' Bachelor Commoners had a table to themselves on the right side of the Hall, perhaps where they now sit; and Scholars, both Undergraduate and Bachelor, sat at a table next below the Masters, where the Scholars' table is still placed[4].

Table for M.A. Commoners, &c.

Bursars' and Steward's table.

B.A. Commoners' table.

Scholars' table.

This order of sitting was retained for at least another century. It was only by special invitation that a Commoner M.A. was admitted to High Table in 1754, or that in 1768 a Fellow, whose term had expired, was allowed to continue to sit there when appointed Chaplain.

At the present day it is customary for Fellows, and all M.A.'s whether on the Foundation or not, to sit at High Table. The Scholars sit at the upper table on the left hand or east side, the Bachelors at the corresponding table on the right, and the long tables below, to which a third table in the middle was added in 1870, are occupied by the Commoners. The Bible clerks, till their disappearance, sat at a small

Present order of sitting.

[1] 'Convention Book,' ii. July 17, 1633—Bp. Piers' Visitation; also 'Convention Book,' i. March 7, $165\frac{3}{4}$.

[2] Visitation of Bishop Piers, 1633 'Convention Book,' ii. July 17.

[3] 'Convention Book,' i.

[4] Thirty years ago there was a small unoccupied table on the left hand between the Scholars' table and the dais, which was traditionally known as the Masters' table.

table next the screen on the left, and the corresponding small table on the right was known as the Strangers' table, though the usual practice was for the host to bring his guest to the place where he generally sat.

Grace before meat.

The grace before dinner, still in use, is in the form of an antiphon, alternate sentences being repeated by the Warden, Sub-Warden, or Senior Fellow present, and one of the Scholars. The Statutes order that all who are present shall reverently and attentively respond to the Warden or Sub-Warden as he says grace, which seems to imply that some such form as that now in use was intended from the first, though there is no evidence of the antiquity of the particular form in question. Nor do all now join in the responses, which were spoken by one of the Bible clerks till that office was discontinued, and are now said by one of the Scholars [1]. It runs thus :—

SCHOL[is] Benedictus sit Deus in donis suis.
GARD[vs] Et sanctus in omnibus operibus suis.
SCHOL[is] Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.
GARD[vs] Qui fecit coelum et terras.
SCHOL[is] Sit nomen Dei benedictum.
GARD[vs] Ex hoc usque in saecula saeculorum.
SCHOL[is] Domine salvam fac Victoriam Reginam.
GARD[vs] Et exaudi nos cum invocamus te.
SCHOL[is] Domine Deus, vita et resurrectio credentium, qui semper es laudandus, tum in viventibus, tum in defunctis, agimus tibi gratias pro Nicolao Wadhamo Armigero, et pro Dorothea uxore ejus, fundatoribus nostris defunctis, aliisque benefactoribus nostris, quorum beneficiis hic ad pietatem et studium litterarum alimur, rogantes ut nos, his tuis donis recte utentes, una cum illis ad resurrectionem gloriae perducamur, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen.

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[1] No formal abolition of the office of Bible clerk is recorded in the 'Convention Books.' On June 12, 1872, directly after the election of Warden Griffiths, a committee was appointed to consider the office of Bible clerks. It would seem that the College without any formal resolution simply ceased to elect them, in deference to a dislike to a supposed social distinction, which may have been felt possibly by the clerks, but was certainly never felt by the other undergraduates. Their duties latterly consisted in saying grace in Hall, pricking attendance at chapel, and pointing out the lessons for the Scholars at the lectern.

APPENDIX.

On the Pictures and Collections in the College.

(*N.B.—For Pictures in Common-Room, v. sup. p.* 149.)

LIST OF PORTRAITS IN THE HALL, WITH NOTES OF INSCRIPTIONS, DATES OR NAMES, AND OTHER PARTICULARS.

Not members of the College.

The Founder and Foundress, right and left of the great south window. Perhaps taken so far as the figures go from the originals in the Warden's Lodgings, with the addition of a pictorial setting of landscape, &c. Painted by Sonmans[1].

The Founder's picture has a shield with fourteen quarterings (all as on the tomb) with two stags as supporters. Inscription, 'Ætatis suae 63 An°. Dni. 1595, Nich^{s} Wadham, Esq., Founder of Wadham College in Oxford.' W. Sonmans.

The Foundress. Shield, Wadham impaling Petre. 'Ætatis suæ 77 Ano. Dni. 1611. Dorothy, sister to the first Lord Petre and wife to Nicholas Wadham, Esq., Founder of Wadham College in Oxford.' W. Sonmans.

The Founder and Foundress. Two other portraits on north wall over the screen.

King James I. Bought by subscription through Dr. Griffiths. Painter, Van Somer.

Sir John Strangways. 'Ætatis suæ 78 An°. Dom̃. 1663' (the donor of the painted glass in the East window of Chapel). Coat of arms with sixteen quarterings. 'Scutum Johannis Strangways Militis.'

King William III.

King George I.

Wardens of the College.

Robert Wright, D.D. The first Warden, painted on panel. Arms of see of Lichfield and Coventry impaling Wright, Per pale Or and Argent on a chevron between three boars' heads couped sable as many bezants. Also see of Bristol impaling d°. 'Reverend^{s} in Chrō Pater Robert^{s} Wright, S.S. Theol: D^{r}. Ecclæ S^{ti} And^{r}. Wellens. Thesaurār. Coll. B. Trin: Oxon olim Socius. Coll. Wadham Gard: 1^{s} Ecclæ B. Trin. Bristoll̃ Episcopus 9^{s} et jam Covent̃ et Lichfeil̃d Præsul:' (this in gilt letters round the frame).

Under the arms 'Ætatis suæ 72. Añ' Dñi. 1632.'

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[1] For Sonmans, see Walpole's 'Anecdotes.'

Portraits of Wardens.

WILLIAM SMYTH, D.D., the third Warden. In gold letters on face of picture, 'Doctor Smith Ætatis suæ 51 An° Dⁿⁱ 1635.' Thus far original: then added afterwards, '3rd Wardⁿ of Wadh. Coll. Admᵈ 24 Mar. 1616.'

JOHN WILKINS, D.D., the sixth Warden. In gold letters on face of picture, 'Doctor Wilkins Bishop of Chester 6th Warden of Wadh. Coll. Admᵈ. Ap. 7th 1648.'

WALTER BLANDFORD, D.D., the seventh Warden. In gold letters on face of picture, 'Doctor Blandford Bishop of Worcester 7th Warden of Wadh. Coll. Admᵈ Sept. 5th 1659.'

GILBERT IRONSIDE, D.D., the eighth Warden. As in last, 'Doctor Ironside Bishop of Hereford 8th Wardⁿ of Wadh. Coll. Admᵈ Dec. 7, 1665.'

THOMAS DUNSTER, D.D., the ninth Warden. As in last, 'Doctor Dunster 9th Warden of Wadh. Coll. Admᵈ Oct. 21st 1689.'

WILLIAM BAKER, D.D., the tenth Warden. As in last, 'Doctor Baker, Bishop of Norwich 10th Warden of Wadhᵐ. Coll. Admᵈ. May 23 1719.'

SAMUEL LISLE, D.D. As in last, 'Doctor Lisle 12th Warden of Wadh. Coll. Admᵈ May 27 1739, Bishop of Norwich.'

JOHN WILLS, D.D., the fifteenth Warden, painted while Vice-Chancellor. On the back 'W. Hoppner.'

WILLIAM TOURNAY, D.D., the sixteenth Warden. On the back, 'Painted by Thoˢ Kirkby, 1825[1].' On a piece of paper attached to the frame, 'This portrait painted at the request of the Fellows of Wadham College is to be placed in the College Hall. W. Tournay, June 4. 1825.'

This picture was engraved in mezzotint by C. Turner, A.R.A.

BENJAMIN PARSONS SYMONS, D.D., the seventeenth Warden. Painted by H. W. Pickersgill, R.A.

This picture was engraved in mezzotint by Wm. Ward, 'engraver to his late Majesty.'

JOHN GRIFFITHS, D.D., the eighteenth Warden. Keeper of the Archives. Painted in 1886 by W. E. Miller, from a crayon drawing by G. F. Watts, R.A., of Mr. Griffiths in middle life; now in the Warden's Lodgings. The drawing was engraved by S. Cousins, R.A.

GEORGE EARLAM THORLEY, M.A., the nineteenth and present Warden. Painted by subscription in 1889, by the Honᵇˡᵉ John Collier.

Portraits of other members of the College.

JOHN GOODRIDGE, M.A., one of the original Fellows and a benefactor, Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham Coll. In gilt letters on face of picture, 'Johannes Goodrich hujus Collegii quondam Socius et Benefactor dignissimus.' He died 1654.

[1] The print says W. Kirkby, Esq.

Portraits of other members of the College.

Robert Blake, the famous admiral, or 'General at Sea,' under the Commonwealth, B.A. of Wadham 161$\frac{6}{7}$. (Engraved by J. Mollison and published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in the 'Gallery of Portraits,' N° xxxvj; May, 1835.

Sir Christopher Wren. Fellow Commoner 1649 or 1650. Probationer of All Souls 1653. On the back, 'Sir Christopher Wren, copied 1825 by Joseph Smith, Oxford, from a picture in the theatre by Verio, Kneller, and Thornhill.'

Thomas Sprat, D.D. Scholar 1652. Fellow 1656. On the back, 'Thomas Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, copied 1825 by Joseph Smith, Oxford, from a picture by Dahl (?) in the Bodleian Gallery.' The historian of the Royal Society.

John, third Lord Lovelace. Matriculated 1655. In gilt letters under the right hand, 'John Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurly, Cheif Justice and Justice in Eyre of all their Maties Forrests, Chases, Parks, and Warrens on the South side of the River Trent, and Captn of ye Band of Gent^{n} Pensioners to King William ye third, who came into England on ye fifth day of Novemb^{r} 1688 to redeem this Nation from Popery and Slavery.' In black letters below, 'Mar. Laroon fecit 1689[1].'

Sir John Pratt. Scholar 1674. Fellow 1678. Lord Chief Justice of King's Bench 1718.

Thomas Creech, B.D. Scholar 1677. Probationer Fellow of All Souls 1683. The translator of Lucretius. On the back, 'Creech, the poet, copied 1825, by Joseph Smith, Oxford, from a picture in the Bodleian Gallery by Summer.'

Humphrey Hody, D.D. Scholar 1677. Fellow 1685. Regius Professor of Greek 1698 and Archdeacon of Oxford 1704. A very considerable benefactor to the College.

Joseph Trapp, D.D. Scholar 1696. Fellow (?) 1703. The first professor of Poetry. On the back, 'Copied by Joseph Smith from a picture in the Natural Philosophy School, Oxford.'

Thomas, Lord Wyndham. Matriculated 1698. Lord Chancellor of Ireland 1726-39. A collateral descendant of the Founder and a great benefactor to the College.

Arthur Onslow. Fellow Commoner 1708. Speaker of the House of Commons 1726-61. In black letters in corner below right shoulder, 'R^{t} Honble Arthur Onslow Esqre, Speaker of the House of Commons.'

Arthur Onslow, perhaps a copy of the last, or possibly the original.

James Harris. Fellow Commoner 1726. Lord of the Treasury 1763. Author of Hermes, 1750, a 'Philosophical enquiry concerning language and universal

[1] For Marcellus Laroon, b. 1653, d. 1702, v. Walpole's 'Anecdotes,' iii. p. 239. ed. 1782. He had a son Marcellus, painter and musician, who died at Oxford 1772.

Grammar.' Attributed to Sir Joshua Reynolds, but more likely by Romney.

HENRY LUSHINGTON, D.D. Scholar 1728. In black letters near the left shoulder is the artist's cypher (J.M.) and date $\frac{JM}{1777}$

JOHN PARSONS, D.D. Scholar 1780. Master of Balliol College 1798. Bishop of Peterborough 1813. Copy of a picture at Balliol Coll. by W. Owen, R.A. Engraved in mezzotint and published by S. W. Reynolds, Bayswater, 1818.

WILLIAM DRAPER BEST, LORD WYNFORD. Commoner 1782. Chief Justice of Common Pleas 1824-29 (?).

JOHN MEDLEY, D.D. Commoner 1822. Bishop of Fredericton and Metropolitan of Canada. Died 1892.

ROBERT HENRY CODRINGTON, D.D. Scholar 1849. Probationer Fellow 1855. Painted in 1886, by W. E. Miller, by subscription.

RICHARD, FIRST LORD WESTBURY. Lord Chancellor. Elected Scholar 1815, at the age of 15. Probationer Fellow 1822. Died 1873. A marble bust by Baily. Bequeathed by Lord Westbury to the College.

PICTURES, DRAWINGS AND MEDALS IN THE WARDEN'S LODGINGS.

Portraits in Warden's Lodgings.

THE FOUNDER, æt. 62, A.D. 1595, with the Wadham shield and quarterings. This picture has been a good deal repainted, but appears to be the original from which the other portraits of the Founder have been copied. This and the following picture hang in the Entrance Hall. It is from them that the portraits in this volume (Plates ii, iii) are taken.

THE FOUNDRESS, æt. 60, A.D. 1595. A companion portrait to the above. The Petre arms are represented with the original bearings, not simplified as they were afterwards.

THE FOUNDER, æt. 63, A.D. 1595, his hand on a skull. Probably a copy from the preceding picture made after his death, in order to make a pair with the following portrait of the Foundress.

THE FOUNDRESS, æt. 77, 1611. Representing her much aged and altered from her former portrait.

These two pictures, which now hang on the first floor landing, are probably those alluded to in the following resolution recorded in the Convention Book, May 11, 1778, '*agreed also for the College to purchase of Mr. Mayson*' (a Fellow) '*two original pictures or portraits of the Founder and Foundress which he lately bought in London, allowing him his prime cost together with all expences of frames, package, and carriage of the same, and that these pictures shall remain under the Warden's custody in the Lodgings till a proper place shall be agreed on for hanging them up in.*'

THOMAS, LORD WYNDHAM. A copy of that in the Hall.

WARDEN WILLS. A copy of that in the Hall.

REV. JOHN GOODRIDGE. On canvas, much damaged.

EDITH, wife of Dr. Hody.

EDITH, wife of Dr. Hody, in later life.

REV. JOHN GRIFFITHS; afterwards eighteenth Warden. The original crayon drawing by Mr. G. F. Watts, R.A., mentioned above.

AN OIL PICTURE OF THE COLLEGE. A bird's-eye view, representing the piers and railings and other alterations once contemplated, and illustrated in the Oxford Almanack for 1738. Old view of College.

COPIES OF RAFFAELLE'S CARTOONS, in seven large and fine pen-and-ink drawings by the brothers Francis and John Cleyn. These artists were sons to Francis Clein or Cleyn, who was made by James I and Charles I head of the Royal tapestry works at Mortlake. The cartoons of Raffaelle were sent thither by Charles as soon as he acquired them to be worked into tapestry, and it was then no doubt that these copies were made by the sons, for the purpose evidently of engraving, as they are reversed. That of the Charge to St. Peter is dated 18 July **50 (or ?**40). That of Elymas has in the corners— Drawings of Raffaelle's cartoons.

Incepi	R.A. Urb. I. Clein fe
MAI. 4	(Two letters illegible.)
1645	

That of Ananias has Raphael d'Vrbin. in. I. Clein. fe. ANNO. 1646. These drawings were seen by Evelyn, who praises them as he might have praised the cartoons themselves. He says, '*in a fraternal emulation they*' (the younger Cleyns) '*have done such work as was never yet exceeded by mortal men, either of the former or present age; and worthy they are of the honour which his Majesty has done their memories, by having purchased these excellent things out of Germany, whither they had been transported or at least intended*[1]. There is also an account of these drawings in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1787, Part ii. p. 853, where it is mentioned that they were found in an old bureau from Kensington Palace which contained the invaluable volume of Leonardo da Vinci, four pocket books of Parmegiano, and the famous Holbein drawings now in the Royal collection. They formed part of the collection of Queen Caroline, and were discovered it was said by George Vertue, the Engraver. Dr. Ruland in his 'Notes on the Cartoons of Raphael[2]' mentions these drawings by the brothers Cleyn as being '*formerly in the Royal Collection at Windsor, but*

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[1] Evelyn, 'Sculptura,' p. 101. He says of the elder Clein, that he was '*a most pious man, father of two sons who were incomparable painters in little; all died in London.*' See also Propert's 'Hist. of Miniature Art,' p. 77, and the article on Cleyn in the Dict. of National Biography by Mr. Lionel Cust, whom I have to thank for much information on the subject.

[2] Published by the Science and Art Department, 1867.

now in the possession of Mr. Griffiths at Oxford.' They were bought about forty years ago from Messrs. Colnaghi of Pall Mall by Mr. Griffiths, afterwards Warden of the College, and were given by him to the College to be hung in the Warden's Lodgings.

Dr. Griffiths's cabinet of prints and medals.

Dr. Griffiths made the still more valuable gift of a cabinet, to be kept in the Warden's Lodgings, containing a collection of prints and medals illustrative of the history of the College, and of every person of eminence who had been in any way connected with it and of whom any such record existed. Among the engravings are several very rare and valuable portraits of James I, and the collection includes Visitors, Founders, and Benefactors, as well as Sons of the House. Perhaps no other Society is so well and completely illustrated. There is also a series of prints and drawings of the building at successive periods of its history, and some drawings of old buildings on the site which have now disappeared. Among the medals the principal treasure is the great gold medal by T. Simon, struck as a naval reward for Blake's victories in June, 1653. Of this fine medal, with its rich border of naval trophies, only three or perhaps four impressions were struck in gold for Blake and his admirals; three only are known to be in existence at the present day, one of which is in the Royal Collection and another in the possession of the descendants of Admiral Penn, for whom it was struck[1]. The die of the reverse with the representation of a naval action is in the British Museum, that of the obverse is missing[2]. There is also an example of the smaller gold medal,—like the larger but without the border,—which was struck as a naval reward for the captains. Only two other examples of this are known to exist. Among the other medals is the silver oval of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham, with the inscription 'When Christ who is our light shal appeare'—'we shal appeare with him in glory,' of which a finer example from the collection of Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill hangs in the Common Room. There are also several interesting medals commemorating the release of the seven bishops, of whom Lloyd of St. Asaph was a member of the College, and Ken of Bath and Wells Visitor. On the obverse are medallions of the seven bishops; the reverse bears in some cases the bust of Archbishop Sancroft, and in others a monk and a Jesuit trying to dig and break down the Church, which is supported by a hand from heaven, with an encircling inscription 'The Gates of Hell shall not prevaile.' There are also fine medals of Sir Christopher Wren and other eminent members of the College.

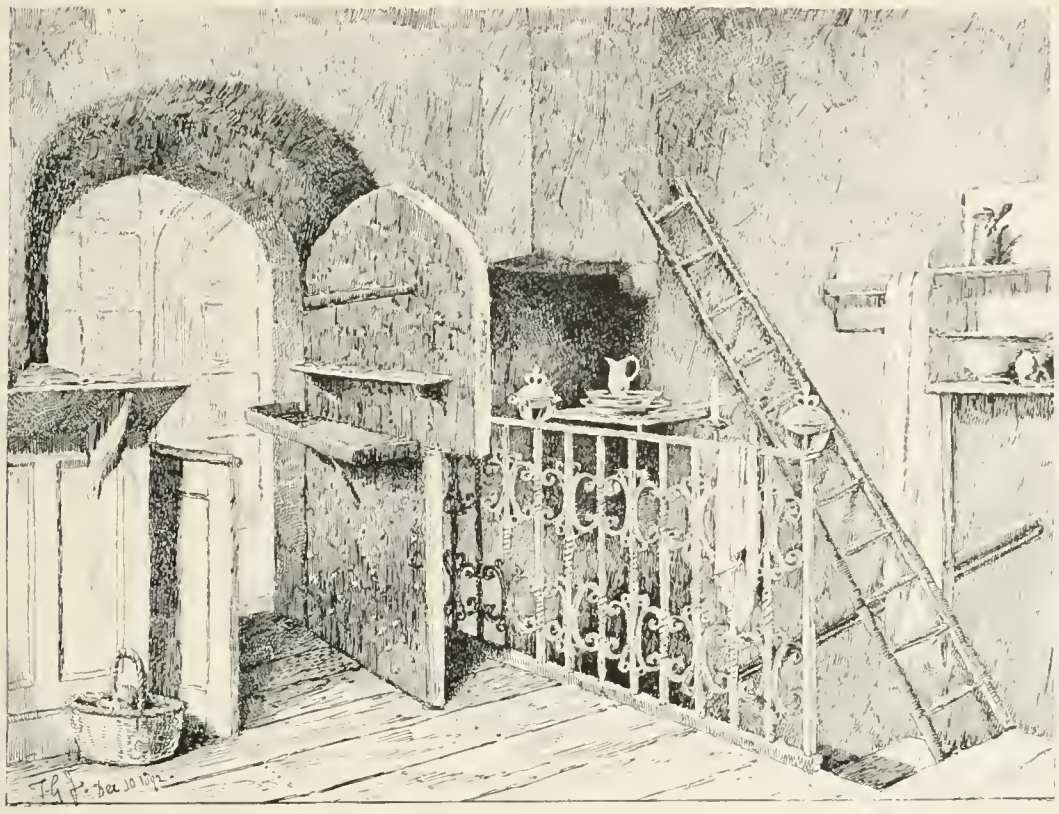
The great gold Blake medal.

The lesser gold Blake medal.

Medals of Founder and Foundress, &c., &c.

[1] The great gold medal belonged to the collection of Captain J. Hamilton, and was sold on May 1, 1882, at Messrs. Sotheby's, when it was bought by Messrs. Colnaghi for Dr. Griffiths at the price of £305. A previous owner had picked it up at an obscure dealer's for £20.

[2] From MS. notes of Dr. Griffiths.



THE BUTTERY.

CHAPTER XIV

THE BUTTERY, CLOISTER, KITCHEN, AND LIBRARY.

The buttery. THE Buttery occupies the usual position, with a doorway in the centre of the end wall of the Hall, and a hatch or half-door with a shelf on the top over which the beer and bread and cheese are served to the servants outside. A space at the lower end of the Hall is screened off for a lobby or passage which forms a vestibule to the Hall, and also a serving-room for the buttery. This passage in large manor-houses and palaces was ceiled and floored above so as to form a minstrel's gallery for the performance of music during the banquet; that in the old Hall of Penshurst is a well-known example. The buttery passages at Wadham, and most other Colleges in Oxford, are also ceiled at the level of the top of the screen, but I know of no instance in which the ceiling was made strong enough

for a gallery above, a feature for which there was no occasion in a collegiate refectory.

Entrance to the buttery was strictly forbidden by the Statutes, Cap. 14, to all Undergraduates, and even to Bachelors who had no business there. Offenders were to be sconced a day's commons for each offence.

The cellar.

From the buttery a stone staircase, protected by a well-designed iron railing (v. Illustration), leads to the vaulted cellars, which extend under the whole of the Hall. Loggan's print shows four windows to light the cellar, with the base moulding of the wall jumped over them, but if they ever existed no traces of them remain.

The buttery passage.

On leaving the Hall, and returning to the buttery passage, a flight of steps on the right leads down to the cloister and by it to the kitchen and library. Before descending, however, we must pause to notice two charming little oval portraits in grisaille and enamel let into the window under which we are about to pass. They represent Charles I and Henrietta Maria, and they, as well as similar portrait medallions in the oriel of the Hall at Magdalen College, where the queen's portrait is dated 1633, seem to be copied from the engravings by Delphius (William Jacobi) in 1628–30 after pictures by Mytens[1]. The third light contains an oval medallion with the head of Dorothy Wadham, much faded. All these, as well as a medallion of the Founder, are said by Wood to have been in the oriel window of the Hall.

The cloister.

The Cloister is really consecrated ground like the piece of the garden outside, and several interments took place within it, of which traces were found a few years ago when the floor was partly taken up to make alterations. It does not appear that the windows were ever glazed till 1806, being before that time merely protected by iron stanchions[2]. There is a door from the cloister to the old cemetery, and there was originally another, now blocked, into the Chapel, by which funerals used to pass to the burial-ground.

In the windows of the cloister are several fragments of the heraldic glass which in Wood's time was in the Hall; the arms of the first Visitor, James Montagu (Montagu and Monthermer quarterly), impaling those of

[1] The history of these glass portraits has been carefully elucidated by Mr. Stowe, Fellow and Bursar of the College.

[2] 'Convention Book,' Dec. 6, 1806.

the see of Winchester, and surrounded by pretty scrolls in enamel; the arms of Strangways; and those of two other Visitors, Bishops Lake and Laud [1], impaling the arms of the see of Bath and Wells.

The kitchen is spacious, but presents nothing remarkable, resembling those at other colleges in its great open fires and other arrangements, except that it is ceiled from end to end with a barrel vault in cut stone, the work of John Blackshaw. The kitchen.

At the visitation of Bishop Piers in 1633 [2], it was decreed that Bachelors or Undergraduates entering the kitchen without leave should pay the same fine as that imposed by Statute for entering the buttery. Scholars and Bachelors so offending about the hour of dinner or supper are to be punished by the Steward.

At the south end of the cloister a staircase rises to the Library, leaving room on the left for the passage to the kitchen. The situation for the Library is admirably chosen; it occupies the whole upper floor of the kitchen wing, is well lighted on both sides and at the end, and gets plenty of sun and air; the kitchen below keeps it dry, and the stone vault under its floor partly secures it against fire. The Library stairs.

The approach to the Library has not always been as it now is. The original entrance from the cloister was no doubt in the place of the present one, but the staircase is comparatively modern, and for some time the Library was reached from the Hall. In 1776 it was proposed to enquire [3]

> Whether a wall can be built on the left hand of the staircase from the Cloister as you first go up to the Library, and an arch be turned from it to the wall of the kitchen on one side, and an Arch on the other side to the Wall of the Hall, and whether a door being made from the Hall to enter on or about the present first landing-place of the Library Staircase, a new Staircase to the Library may not be made to rise from thence by the Wall of the Hall, and so turn towards the Library Door; whereby would be gained to the Library a closet on the North side equal to that on the South side, and that Part of the Library which reaches beyond the kitchen would by the Arches proposed be equally secure from Fire as the other part of the Library which is over the kitchen and is already arched. Alterations in approach to Library in 1776.

[1] Arms of Lake: Sa. a bend between six crosses crosslet fitchy argent, a mullet sa. for difference. Arms of Laud: Sa. on a chevron, between three estoiles pierced or, as many crosses patees fitchy gules.

[2] 'Convention Book,' ii.

[3] 'Convention Book,' May 15, 1776.

This plan was to have entirely cut off the Library floor from the ground floor by stone vaulting, and so to have made the western part as fireproof as the eastern. This part of the scheme was not carried out, but the door from the Hall was actually made and the old approach from the cloister given up[1]. This lasted till 1806, when an estimate of Mr. Harris, a builder, amounting to £97. 10*s.* 0*d.* was accepted for restoring the original passage to the Library by a handsome staircase from the cloister[2], and making certain other alterations in the Library.

Original approach restored 1806.

The regulations for the Library occupy a whole chapter of the Statutes[3]. They run as follows :—

Statute 'de Bibliotheca.'

> Also I will, ordain, and appoint that the books bought by me, or given to the said College by the pious munificence of others, or acquired out of the property of the said College or from other sources, be put and kept in safety in a certain Chamber (cubiculo) over the kitchen, fixed by iron chains to certain settles, and be in no wise removed thence save only for the sake of repair : which being done let them be put back in their places as soon as possible, unless others better, more perfect, or more useful be substituted, of which I will that the decision be left to the Warden, Sub-Warden, and three other Senior Fellows. The numerous books piously given to this College by the Venerable Philip Bisse, Doctor of Divinity, and Archdeacon of Taunton in the Diocese of Bath and Wells, on the front of each of which his name will be inscribed, may in no wise be sold, exchanged, or replaced by others, unless when age has worn them out other books of the kind composed by the same authors be put in their place, with the name of the said Doctor similarly inscribed ; to the intent that no time may ever blot out, destroy or extinguish in the aforesaid College the munificence, piety, name, and memory of the said Philip Bisse. And this chamber, called by the name of Library, shall be open only to the Warden and graduates of the said College, each of whom shall have a key of his own. Nor shall it be lawful to others either of the House, or from without, to enter unless accompanied by some one of the said Fellows who shall remain with him from his entry till his exit.

Any one leaving the door open, or lending his key to unauthorized persons, or leaving them alone in the Library, is to be fined 6*s.* 8*d.* One of the Fellows is to be Librarian with a yearly salary of thirty shillings.

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[1] When engaged in restoring and taking the paint from the Hall panelling in 1872, I found the place where this door had been cut through, and the panelling afterwards made good in deal.

[2] 'Convention Book,' Dec. 6, 1806.

[3] Statutes, Cap. 28, De Bibliotheca.

Every book presented to the Library is to have the name of the college and of the donor written on the front.

Practice of chaining books.

The practice—necessary but inconvenient—of chaining books to desks was universal during the middle ages in all public and collegiate libraries. Three libraries in England still retain their original desks and chained volumes[1], and many old libraries at Oxford still bear on their fittings and on the older volumes traces of chains that have been removed.

The books forming the Library of the University were at first, says Wood, 'locked up in chests or chained upon desks in St. Mary's chancel and church, to be used by the Masters upon leave first obtained[2].' Thence in time they were removed to the library built over the Congregation House, set up in pews or studies, and chained. Books in college libraries were always similarly 'settled,' that is chained to settles or desks, but the statutes of many Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge provide for a certain number being unchained and lent for a term or longer among the Fellows, who are to choose what they will take in order of seniority.

Mode of 'settling' books.

The books were set on the shelves with the backs inwards, and the title written on the *frontispicium*, that is the front edges of the leaves, where Mrs. Wadham directs the donor's name also to be inscribed. To the front edge of one cover was attached one end of the chain of which the other had a ring running on a horizontal bar secured by a padlock and a staple.

Late continuance of chaining.

The practice of chaining books was continued much later than is generally imagined. The gift of Selden's books to the University in 1659 was accompanied by the condition that they should be 'within the space of twelve moneths next ensuing placed and chayned[3],' and a charge of £25. 10*s.* 0*d.* for providing chains appears in the accounts for 'settling' them[4]. Notices of additional chains being ordered for the Bodleian

[1] At Hereford Cathedral, All Saints', Hereford, and Wimborne Minster; v. Willis and Clark, iii. 418 &c., where is an illustration of the library fittings at Hereford Cathedral. The most famous example still in existence of chained books is that of the Laurentian Library at Florence with its splendid renaissance desks and shelves.

[2] 'Annals,' vol. ii. p. 910.

[3] Wood's 'Annals,' ii. 943.

[4] Macray, 'Annals of the Bodleian,' p. 86.

Books unchained.

Library occur as late as 1751, and it is not till 1757 that the removal of the chains seems to have been begun. In 1761 there is a payment recorded for unchaining 1448 books at a half-penny each [1]. The books at Brasenose were not unchained till 1780, when the Library was refitted by Wyatt [2].

Books chained at Wadham.

Towards the end of the building accounts of Wadham College are several purchases of chains. Four dozen are bought on Mar. 13, 1613, at 4*s.* a dozen, six dozen on April 10, and eight dozen on June 6: several dozen staples are charged at different times, and in the last week is an entry of bars and staples for the Library [3]. The 'settling' of the books was probably not completed before the opening of the College in April, 1613. On June 12 of that year is entered a payment of £40 to Bat. How in accompt for the library seats, and on July 3, £23. 8*s.* 0*d.* to Tho. Ranklin for all the locks (lockers?) and desks in the Library. This did not, however, complete the furnishing of the room, for in the following December John Arnold writes to the Warden :—

> Good Mr Doctor
>
> I have follicited your fute for your Company unto my miftris and I have prevayled fo farre wth her as that fhe hath fent you to dischardge Carryadge and fettlinge of your books wth the makinge of your feales fifty poundes; * * *[4]

The books and their donors.

Some of the books were given by the Foundress, as the Statute implies; the payment of £8 for 'carriage of the books to Oxford,' and 15*s.* 6*d.* for 'the waynemens diet,' entered July 3, 1613, probably refers to the arrival of Dr. Bisse's books.

Dr. Bisse.

> 'Philip Bisse,' says Fuller, 'was extracted from a worshipful family in this county (Somerset), who have had their habitation at Spargrave for some descents, being bred fellow and doctor in Divinity in Magdalen College in Oxford; he was afterwards preferred Archdeacon of Taunton. Now though it be most true what Reverend Bishop Hall was wont to say of friends and books "good and few are best," yet this doctor had good and many of both kinds; and at his

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[1] Macray, 'Annals of the Bodleian,' p. 86. Mr. Macray adds that several of the chains are still preserved loose as relics.

[2] Mr. Madan in Clark's 'Colleges of Oxford,' p. 267. Wyatt's designs for the fittings are preserved in Brasenose library; they are signed 'James Wyatt, July, 1779.'

[3] Building Accounts, ccxi, ccxv, ccxix.

[4] Copied into 'Convention Book,' ii. p. 4, dated Dec. 12, 1613.

death bequeathed his library (consisting of so many volumes as were valued at one thousand pounds) to Wadham College, then newly founded [1].'

Wood, however, says that he gave his library, not that he bequeathed it, and the Statute implies the same, for Bisse, according to Fuller, did not die till 1614. Wood states the value of his books at £1700 [2]. The gratitude of the Foundress prompted her to have his portrait painted full length 'with his doctoral formalities on,' and hung over the Library door inside the room, where it may still be seen. It bears this inscription—

> Dorothea Wadham, Fundatrix hujus Collegii, hanc Philippi Bisse, S. Theologiæ Doctoris effigiem, quia hanc Bibliothecam suis libris ornavit, in grati animi testimonium fieri voluit atque hic appendi mandavit.
>
> Ætatis suae 72. An. Dom. 1612 [3].

In further recognition of Dr. Bisse's bounty she made his nephew Swaddell one of her first Fellows, though he had not yet taken his degree [4].

Other donors of books.

Wood records several additions to the Library by the Foundress; by Lady Mary Dymock [5], who gave £20 to buy books in 1627; by John Williams, gent., the first manciple of the College, who bequeathed £10 in 1628; by Samuel Seman, of Gloucester, Esq.; by Gilbert Drake, M.A., Fellow, who bequeathed many books in 1629; and by Humphrey Henchman, Bishop of London, who lodged in the Warden's Lodgings when the Parliament sat in Oxford in 1665, and who gave £20 to buy books.

Books left by Mr. Warner.

In 1775 a great addition to the Library was made by the bequest of Richard Warner, Esq., of Woodford in Essex, formerly Commoner of the College, consisting of 'four thousand four hundred volumes and upwards,

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[1] Fuller's 'Worthies of Somerset.' 'This epitaph was made upon him wherein nothing of wit save the verbal allusion, which made itself without any pains of the author thereof:—

"Bis fuit hic natus, puer et Bis. Bis juvenisque,
Bis vir, Bisque senex, Bis doctor, Bisque sacerdos."'

[2] 'Colleges and Halls,' p. 601.

[3] I have trusted to Wood for the inscription; the picture is hung too high for it to be read. He says the arms of Bisse were in the Hall windows: 'Sable, three escallops in pale argent.' The present Warden tells me the picture at one time was hung in the Hall.

[4] v. supra, p. 73.

[5] Sir Edward Dymoke, champion at Coronation of James I, married Mary Poultney. Their son Charles entered as Fellow Comm. in 1626. He lived in middle chamber, North Bay, which therefore was not yet part of the Warden's Lodgings. He died at Oxford in the King's Garrison, 1644. Burke's 'Landed gentry;' Gardiner's 'Regist.' 'Dymoke's tankerd' was sacrificed to Charles I; v. infra, chap. XV.

and of considerable value[1].' This addition, and that of the books left by the Rev. Samuel Bush, Vicar of Wadhurst, who died in 1783, led to the refitting of the Library, for which money was raised partly by subscription and partly by 'putting on' a fee of three guineas to each newly elected Fellow, the same to every Gentleman-Commoner on taking his degree, two guineas to a Commoner, one to a Scholar, and half a guinea to a Servitor or Clerk, for the use of the Library[2]. The present bookcases presumably date from this refitting, and as they bear no traces of any attachment of chains and rods, it was at this time most probably that the practice of chaining the books was given up.

Books left by Mr Bush.

Library refitted.

The only book that has retained its chain is the copy of the Statutes which was directed by the Foundress to be kept chained in the Library. It is enclosed in a curious hinged wooden cover, shaped like a book and sunk in the solid to receive the volume and allow the chain to pay out.

Chained copy of statutes.

The other entries in the 'Convention Books' relating to the Library are not numerous nor important. In 1736 we first hear of duplicates being disposed of, and again in 1788 is an order for selling them to members of the Society in order of seniority, or failing that to a bookseller, the proceeds in all cases to be invested in buying other books[3]. The first reference to a Catalogue is in 1780, when

Sale of duplicates.

Catalogue.

> It was agreed * * to desire Mr. Price (who set Mr. Warner's books upon shelves in the new studies in the Library properly classed and arranged last summer) to undertake this summer to enter the titles of such books into the Public Catalogue of the Library.

In 1809 it is mentioned that the Library was then being catalogued 'by Mr. Parker (a respectable bookseller).'

Leave to take books out of the Library was extended to all M.A.'s and to the Chaplain in 1794, on condition apparently of their being resident in College, for Mr. White, late Fellow and Professor of Arabic,

Extension of leave to take out books.

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[1] 'Convention Book,' April 20, 1775; Oct. 23, 1775. Gutch (Wood, 'Colleges and Halls,' p. 602) mentions Warner's bequest of 'a large collection of books, among which are many valuable prints in Natural History and Botany. He left also an annual stipend for a Botanical exhibition in this College.' He died April 11, 1775.

[2] 'Convention Book,' March 31, 1785. This money was to be used partly to establish a Fund for buying modern publications.

[3] 'Convention Book,' Sept. 1, 1736; March 24, 1788.

though he is allowed a key is not to take books out, 'being Commorant in the City [1].' In 1813 the privilege of taking out books without application to the Librarian was extended to all M.A.s and B.C.L.s [2].

Description of library.

The Library is a handsome room 54 by 23½ feet, with small windows spaced regularly along the sides to admit of bookcases standing out between them at right angles to the wall on the delightful plan usual in ancient libraries. At the east end is a large traceried window of a more regular Gothic character than any other in the College, except those of the choir. It was made by Edward Arnold, who received £9 for working it [3]. The roof, made by Tesely and Holt, at the cost of £41. 10*s.* 0*d.* for labour only [4], is ceiled below with plaster in a coved form.

The east window contains small oval medallions with portraits of the Founder and Foundress painted in enamels, and their arms impaled.

[1] 'Convention Book,' Dec. 6, 1794. [2] 'Convention Book,' Dec. 6, 1813.

[3] Building Accounts, clxxxi. This, like the other payments for windows, was for labour only.

[4] Building Accounts, clxxxiij to cci.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIV.

I AM indebted to Mr. E. Gordon Duff, a member of the College, who is well known as an authority on the subject of books, for the following interesting account of the more important contents of the Library at Wadham College:—

'As might be expected from the late date of its foundation, the library is not rich in early printed books. Among the early English books there are two great rarities, the Latin translation of the spurious letters of Phalaris printed at Oxford in 1485, 4to, and the Antonius Andreæ printed at St. Alban's about 1482, 4to. Of the first of these there is another copy in the Corpus library, but it is in a very poor condition, while our copy is spotless and in the finest state. Of the second book two other copies are known, one perfect in the library of Norwich Cathedral, and another at Jesus College, Cambridge. Our copy wants unfortunately eight leaves.

'There are also very imperfect copies of Caxton's Boethius; the Speculum Vitæ Christi printed by Pynson about 1495; and the Chronicles of England and description of Britain printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1502.

'Of early printed books printed abroad there are not many; and of these but a few are of any interest or rarity. The earliest is a volume of the Letters of Jerome printed at Rome by Sweynheym and Pannartz in 1468. The complete book is in two volumes, but only one is in the library. The illuminated initials are very good examples of the Italian style of book decoration of the period.

'There is the second edition of Cæsar printed at Venice by Jenson in 1471; the De Claris mulieribus with curious woodcuts printed by Zainer at Ulm in 1473; the sermons of Leonardus de Utino printed by Ulric Zel at Cologne in 1473; Hierocles in aureos versus Pythagoræ, Padua 1474. Amongst early illustrated books are an edition of Petrarch, Venice 1490, fol., valuable both from the excellence of its text and the beauty of the woodcuts; the well-known "Nuremberg Chronicle," printed by Antony Coburger in 1493; and the Life of Christ, by Dürer. The latter is of the edition containing text on the back of the woodcuts, but is unfortunately very imperfect.

'With theological books of a certain class the library is well supplied, thanks to the donation of Bisse, but it is surprising how so large a collection could have been formed containing so very little interesting or rare. One book,

however, should be mentioned, the Meditationes Natalis in Evangelia, printed at Antwerp in 1595, for it was evidently from the beautiful copper-plates of this book that Van Ling took some of the designs for the large east window in the chapel. The only two books in the library printed on vellum are also in the class of theology, a Hebrew Bible of 1558 and a "Horæ ad usum Sarum" printed by Vostre at Paris in 1507. The latter book is imperfect, wanting eleven leaves.

'Other books of interest in the department of theology are Walton's Polyglott of 1657, Stephen's Greek Testament 1550, and four scarce editions of the Bible in English, 1541, 1562; the second edition of the "Breeches Bible," containing the remarkable misprint in Matt. v. 9, "Blessed are the place-makers;" 1568, the first edition of the Bishops' Bible, commonly known as the "treacle" Bible, from the reading in Jeremiah viii. 22, "Is there no tryacle in Gilead?" the divines were also scandalised by one of the initial letters used in it containing a picture of Leda and the Swan; 1611, one of the early editions of the authorised version; Smith's Defence of the Altar, 1546; Latimer's Sermons, 1549; Cranmer's Defence of the Sacrament, 1550; Hooper's Certeine comfortable Expositions, 1580; King James' translation of the Psalms of David, 1631.

'The most valuable bequest to the theological department of the Library is the wonderful set of the early editions of the Homilies bequeathed by Dr. Griffiths.

'The departments of Law, Medicine and Natural Philosophy contain nothing of any great rarity, except perhaps Frampton's "Joyful newes out of the New found world," 1596. The botanical books formed no doubt in their day a very valuable collection, and an expert would probably be rewarded by a careful search in this division of the library.

'Among the classics there are some interesting books. There is the Terence of 1498, with its curious cuts, a Plautus of 1495, and a Virgil of 1500.

'There are a good number of Aldines, including the Euripides of 1503 with MS. notes by Heinsius. Of translations of the Classics there are a considerable number, including many early ones which are rare. Among these we may notice: Sallust 1557, Caesar 1565, Horace 1567, Aelian 1576, Ovid 1576, Appian 1578, Seneca 1581, Herodotus 1584.

'Among the Voyages and Travels there are some fine old Atlases and a volume of De Bry. In the History and Topography early editions of Fabian's Chronicles, 1533; Hall's Chronicles, 1548; and Holinshed, 1577; one volume of Froissart printed by Pynson in 1525; and the Ælfredi Res Gestae, London 1574, a book of considerable rarity; a number of such smaller county histories as Nash's Worcestershire, Morant's Essex, Plot's Oxfordshire and Burton's Leicestershire, and fine copies of Loggan's Views of Oxford and Cambridge.

'The English Literature begins well with the first four folios of Shakespeare. The first (1623) wants seven leaves and is in bad condition, the other three are

in a much better state. Of Beaumont and Fletcher there is the first folio of 1647 and the later of 1679. Among the folios are the Ship of Fools, 1570; Sidney's Arcadia, 1598; Drayton's Polyolbion, 1613; Gower's Confessio Amantis, 1554; More's Works, 1557, and original sets of the Rambler, Tatler and Spectator. Amongst the quartos are the first edition of Paradise Lost (with a late title-page), and others of Milton's writings; early editions of the Faery Queen, Piers Plowman, The Spider and the Flye, and a number of quarto plays. There is a copy of Coriat's Crudities, 1611, and a small volume containing some excessively rare poetical tracts by Skelton.

'The French and Italian books, mostly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have no rarities amongst them. The Spanish books relating to the Reformation form a separate collection, and are kept apart from the general library. They were collected by B. B. and J. H. Wiffen, the authors of works on the Spanish Reformation and Spanish Literature, and form a valuable series on a special subject.

'Amongst the manuscripts, which number in Coxe's list fifty-three, some few deserve special notice. The finest is no doubt the tenth-century MS. of the Gospels given to the College in 1625 by William Boswell: it contains a few curious and distinctive illuminations.

'There are two thirteenth-century Bibles (Coxe, i, ix), one being dated. The inscription at the end of the Apocalypse runs, "Anno Domini M.cc.xl quarto perfecta est biblia ista; Gulielmus Miles Parisiensis consummavit eam." A "Ducale" of the end of the fifteenth century has a finely illuminated page and is in its original Venetian binding.

'There are two valuable English MSS., a "Mirror of the Life of Christ" and a Gower's Confessio Amantis, both of the fifteenth century. Another of the seventeenth, "Sir William Waller's experiences," has a historical interest.

'One MS. not in Coxe's list deserves mention on account of the beauty of its illuminations. It is a folio Missal, with the following inscription at the beginning, "Istud Missale scribi fecit reverendus pater dominus Ambrosius de Angelis, Abbas modernus hujus monasterii Parchensis ordinis Premonstratensis prope Lovanium. Per Franciscum Weert. Anno virginei partus M.ccccc.xxi. finit feliciter." The illuminations, though of a late period, are particularly fine.'

E. GORDON DUFF.

CHAPTER XV

THE COLLEGE PLATE.

Plate a mode of investing money.

Plate in the middle ages was one mode of securing money, the purchase of land, impropriations and advowsons, or tithe rent charges, being the only other modes of investment; and all cash not so laid out had to be locked up in chests and taken out for current expenses. Plate was a mode of keeping wealth ready to be realized when occasion required, and the demand of Charles I. for the loan of the College plate to be minted into coin was only a sequel to previous impositions which had exhausted the College cash. Six months before the plate was requisitioned Wadham College had been obliged to contribute £100 for his Majesty's use under the name of a loan[1]. The barren receipt is preserved in the College:—

> Received ye day & yeare abouesayd off ye Trefury of Wadham Coll. ye Sum̃ of one hundred pounds for ye ufe of his Mai^tye^ according to his letters directed to ye University of Oxon I say soe much receivd
>
> per me Rich: Caworth.
>
> (Endorsed) Lent K. 100^li^ July 12. 1642.

Other forms of investment were beginning to offer themselves in the seventeenth century[2], but it is probable that a good stock of plate was still thought necessary, not only for use but as a reserve of wealth in case of emergency. The necessity of realizing it, however, does not

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[1] Warden's MSS. No. 66; July ye 12th, 1642.

[2] East India stock in 1600 amounted to £72,000. In 1683 India stock sold at £500 for £100. Haydn's 'Dictionary of Dates.'

Statute concerning the Plate.

seem contemplated in the statute, which provides rather for its careful preservation as a memorial of the donors. The Foundress says[1],

> I will moreover that in the said chest (the Bursar's chest) be kept and stored all the gold and silver vessels granted and given or hereafter to be granted for the perpetual use of Students in the said College, those being taken out which are wanted for necessary and daily use, under the same names and forms by which they are now known, and that they be kept entire as long as possible without any change, according to the last intention of the donors.

In the building accounts is an entry of £103 'for plate given to the Colledge,' and £52. 8*s.* 2*d.* for plate given to the Warden[2]. We know what this was by the list of plate surrendered to the King, where it is kept separate from that acquired from other sources. The latter had before 1642 more than doubled the original stock, owing to the practice of requiring members to present plate to the College on admission or promotion to a higher table in Hall. In 1633 it is decreed that every M.A. admitted to the second table in the upper part of the Hall is to give 50*s.* to the Bursars, 'loco argentei poculi[3].' Fellow-Commoners, on admission, gave large sums for a piece of plate, of which they had the use in their chambers during residence, leaving it behind them on departing. Each piece was inscribed with the name and condition of the donor, an interesting custom contemplated by the statutes, and continued to the present day, which makes every article a memorial of some member of the College.

Provision for adding to stock of Plate.

Donors' names inscribed.

Examples of old Plate reserved at Oxford.

Most of the Colleges on surrendering their plate to the Royal necessities in 1642 retained a few pieces, which either had been consecrated to the use of the chapel, or had some historical connexion with their Founders. Corpus and Oriel in particular have a few pieces of extremely beautiful mediæval plate which escaped the melting-pot at New Inn Hall to which so much was sacrificed, not only of intrinsic worth which might be regained, but of artistic value which was lost for ever. Wadham which was then a young college had of

[1] Statutes, Cap. 21. The bursar's chest was to be in the bursary, unless the Warden, Sub-Warden, and five Seniors thought the Treasury a better place.

[2] Building Accounts, July 3, 1613.

[3] 'Convention Book.' Visitation of Bishop Piers.

course nothing to lose comparable in interest to the plate of the older colleges, but yet the list of articles surrendered makes a lover of plate sigh over their destruction :—

(Endorsed) 21d. feb. 1642

li				li	
32	0	0	white plate		
li	oz				
35	5	¾		li	1
32	8			1	3
18	6	¾	gilt plate		3.6
1	5	¾	ffound: Tankerd		
3	3	½	Mr. Strange ffalcon		

White plate giuen to ye Colledge [1] by the ffoundres

List of Plate surrendered to Charles I, 1642.

	oz.		
Fower filver potts weighing	73	½	
filver bowles 2 weighing	25	¾	
fpoones 4 dozen & 9 weighing	128	0	2d w.
filver faltes 5 weighing	65	¾	

Gilt plate given by or foundref

One bason weighing	49	½	
One ewer weighing	24	¼	
One bowle wth a cover	30	½	
One falt & cover	25	¾	
One other falt, & a trencher falt	20		

One gilt tankerd yt or foundref did ufually drinke in, given by Mr. Arnold her execut^r, weighing — 17 ¾

Plate given by fellow Cõmoners [2]

ye 2 Peeteres tankerds	40	¼	
Hunts tankerd	18½		2d wht.
Cliffords tankerd	20½		
Cokers tankerd weighing	19½		
Kertons tankerd	23¾		

[1] Warden's MSS. No. 68.

[2] The two Petres, great-nephews to the Foundress, were the first Fellow-Commoners admitted; Wood, 'Athen.' iii. 1144. For Gower, see above, p. 109. Hendley is probably Rob. Henley, admitted 1616. For Dr. Zouch, v. Wood, 'Athen.' iii. 510. For Portman, v. supra, p. 173. For Dymoke, v. supra, p. 114; and for the rest, v. Gardiner's 'Regist.'

	oz.		
Gowers tankerd	20¾		
Doilys tankerd gilt weighing	20¼		
Bluets tankerd	26½		
Hendlys tankerd	20¼		
Brounckers tankerd	17½		
2 Estcourts tankerds	41¼		
Dr Zouch his tankerd	20½		
Sr Jo. Portmans tankerd	30½		
St. Legers tankerd	17¼		
Windams flagon	36		
Alderman Boswells flagon	40	o	3d wht.
Dymokes tankerd	41	¼	
Okeovers tankerd	34	½	
Croftes tankerd	20	o	8d wht.
Winters tankerd	35	¾	2d wht.
Strodes tankerd	23	¼	1d wht.
A falcon gilt given by Mr. Gyles Strangwayes	39½		
Two gilt candlesticks	40	½	3d wht.
Brownes pott	16½		
Markhams pott	15½		
Groves pott	17¾		2d w.
Rodneys pott	19¼		1d w.
Walronds pott	15½		2d w.
Grayes pott	18	o	o
Horfyes gilt bowle	11	¾	
Mafyes bowle	13	o	
Palmer his bowle	19	o	
Clyffes bowle	14¾		1d w.
Everyes bowle	10½		
Two filver falts by Mr. St. Ledger	6¼		4d w.
Blakes salt	14	o	2d w.
Wrights fprigg-falt	35	½	2d w.
Two barrel-tonnes	29	¾	2d w.

More given by or ffoundrefse.

A silver bason	72	o	
An ewer	31	o	

The practice of presenting plate steadily refilled the empty plate chest. Under Dr. Wilkins we read that Bachelor Commoners on proceeding to the Masters' table are to pay 40*s.* to the house for a plate[1], and that every Fellow Commoner on admission

New Plate to replace that surrendered.

> lay downe 5[li] for a plate, or else his Tutor to engage to see one of that value provided within a month[2].

By 'a plate' seems to have been understood conventionally a beer cup or tankard. A 'plate of ale' is an expression used at Trinity College, Cambridge, for a cup or tankard of ale[3].

Under Warden Ironside the necessities of the Chapel and Library led to the diversion to those purposes of the £8 which Fellow Commoners were in future to lay down, but

> Every fellow Commoner thus admitted shall have the ufe of one piece of Plate to his Chamber as formerly they had when they gave plate[4].

By this time, therefore, we may suppose that there was again plate enough for daily use. No further reference to plate occurs till 1719, when it was resolved to change some old plate in the Treasury. In 1745 the two Scholars' and the two Servitors' pots were exchanged for four second-hand pots to which the arms and inscriptions were to be transferred. In 1768 is a purchase of some more plate, including a new hand-candlestick for the Warden, and 'nozells to raise and enlarge his two pair of candlesticks.' In 1783 is mentioned a bequest of plate by Mr. Bush, and the exchange of various articles for others more useful, 'restoring to the names of Donors an equal number of ounces of silver.' The Warden also sent to the Buttery Mr. Wyndham's cases of knives and forks, and was allowed to buy in their place two cases of knives and forks with ivory handles to the value of about thirteen guineas. Another concession to the growing refinement of the age had been made a few years before in 1769, when it was agreed

Old plate exchanged.

Ivory-handled knives and forks.

[1] 'Convention Book,' i. Mar. 7, 1653.
[2] 'Convention Book,' i. Dec. 29, 1651.
[3] Cripps, 'Old English Plate,' 4th ed. p. 30.
[4] 'Convention Book,' i. July 30, 1669.

Stoneware instead of Pewter.

> that the Warden, inftead of buying new Pewter, or exchanging the old now in the Lodgings, which by Length of Time is much decayed and out of Fashion, might purchafe the ftoneware now Generally in Ufe[1].

And again in 1783, in the time of Warden Wills, another step was taken toward modern habits. It was agreed

Wedgwood ware.

> That the Warden, inftead of buying new Pewter for the Use of the Lodgings (which was now much out of fashion) or of replacing that sort of Ware which was bought for Doctor Wyndham in 1769 and now almost all broken, might purchase a fet of Dishes and Plates of the Stone Ware called Wedgwoods[2].

Pewter in Hall.

The use of pewter dishes and plates in Hall for the rest of the College survived much later, and will be remembered by most Oxonians of middle age. In the days of a generation older still the service of Hall dinners probably fell a good deal short of modern ideas of comfort. There is a curious entry in 1820 that the Under Butler

Knives and forks in Hall.

> be responsible for the cleaning of as many knives and forks as shall be necessary for the daily supply of the Hall Tables, and that the practice of wiping them only be discontinued[3].

It is perhaps fair to suppose that this wiping only refers to the change of forks and knives between the courses; let us at least hope so. The provision of these implements seems to have been farmed by the Under Butler, for it was resolved on Dec. 10, 1835,

> that the underbutler shall not henceforth supply any knives or forks of his own, but that a stock shall be purchased by the College.

Old plate retained by College.

It will be remembered that when the College resolved to 'lend' their plate to the King they reserved their Communion plate[4], and that only, and that in the list of pieces sent to be melted down at New Inn Hall mention is made of the cup in which the Foundress

[1] 'Convention Book,' June 30, 1769.
[2] 'Convention Book,' Dec. 6, 1783.
[3] 'Convention Book,' Nov. 30, 1820.
[4] 'Convention Book,' Jan. 14, 1642; v. supra, p. 113.

usually drank. It is therefore curious that there should still be among the plate at the Warden's house a silver gilt 'pot,' professing to be the cup in question (v. Illustration). It is of antique form and design and bears the inscription, '*Poculum Fundatricis Coll. Wadh. ex dono Jo. Arnold executoris ult. test. fundatricis.*' On the lid is a shield with the incomprehensible bearings Tregarthin impaling Petre, and

The Foundress' Cup.

THE "FOUNDRESS' CUP."

an inscription, which seems later than the other, '*Insignia fundatricis et matris mariti ejus.*' This cup with these inscriptions was seen and described by Hutchins before 1773, who writes with no doubt of its authenticity: but from the mark of the maker Swift, and the Hall mark of 1752, it appears that the cup is not the original one, which no doubt found its way to the melting-pot at New Inn Hall in 1642.

At the same time its form, which is not that of the date when it was made, and the character of the lettering in the inscriptions seem to show that it was copied from some piece of plate made about the middle of the preceding century, though even that would not have been old enough by some fifty years to go back to the days of the Foundress.

Delusive dates on some of the plate.

This is not the only example of the substitution of newer plate for old, and of a disappointing discrepancy between the date on the inscriptions and that of the hall-mark. As pieces were worn out they were replaced by others and the old inscriptions and heraldic engravings were transferred to the new pieces. Sometimes the money given to provide a piece of plate was not laid out immediately. There is for instance a fine pair of silver sugar castors with inscriptions recording that one was given in 1652 by Edward Harby, and the other in 1653 by Christophorus Wren, Arm.: but though the date letter is missing, the mark of the maker, Samuel Margas, shows, according to Mr. Cripps[1], that they could not have been made till 1720.

Sir Christopher Wren's sugar castor.

Among other interesting pieces is a fine porringer of 1671 given by the brother of Miss Kemys, whose letter is to be found in a preceding chapter (v. sup. p. 120). It has a lid with three unicorns' heads which serve as feet when the lid is reversed and used as a salver. It is by a famous maker, whose name, however, is unknown, who made a fine rose-water ewer and salver for the Inner Temple in 1670. There are many other interesting pieces of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in particular a magnificent 'Monteith' punch-bowl made by Humphrey Payne in 1704, which Mr. Cripps values highly.

The Communion plate.

The Communion plate is of great interest. It consists of two large flagons, two large and tall cups of the Post-Reformation form with paten covers, and a large dish. The whole is of silver entirely gilt.

The dish was given by Warden Ironside in 1689. One of the cups with its paten, copied from the others, was given in 1635 by

[1] I had the opportunity of examining the College plate with Mr. Wilfred Cripps, the well-known authority on gold and silver smith's work, and am indebted to him for much information about it, and for the references in the text to other pieces of plate by the same makers.

To face p. 209

THE COMMUNION FLAGON

Height 13¾ inches

Warden Smyth, and bears the date mark of that year. There is a similar cup at Ewelme in Oxfordshire with the same maker's mark; R.W. over a mullet. The other cup bears the inscription EX DONO FUNDATRICIS, and the Hall-mark of 1612. The maker's mark W.R. over a rainbow or double crescent occurs on a fine flagon of 1613 which Mr. Cripps saw in the Treasury of the Patriarch at Moscow, and on the fine tall tankard flagon belonging to the Corporation of Norwich[1]. All this plate is quite plain.

The Communion flagons.

The two flagons are in a very different style and much earlier in date. They did not come into the possession of the College till 1618, being inscribed LEGATVM FUNDATRICIS COLL. WAD., but they bear the Hall-mark of 1598. The arms of Wadham impaling Petre were probably put on at the same time as the inscription, for the Petre coat is given in its simplified and later form which there is no reason to suppose Mrs. Wadham ever used. But if this is no evidence of the plate having been made for the Wadhams, possibly the device of the rose, the well-known family badge, may be so interpreted; and possibly the flagons may have served in the private chapel of Merifield or Edge[2]. The lips and projecting rings are beautifully finished with stamped leaf-work, bands of other stamped patterns surround the neck and foot, and the whole is richly diapered with a pattern of strap-work marked out by lines in repoussé work, the pattern being finished bright and the ground burred (v. Plate xvi). The diapering is slightly varied on the two flagons. Mr. Cripps writes that these 'flagons are of a very rare form and of unusual interest; and they are about the last of their kind. A year or two later the *tankard-flagon* occurs and the older *round-bellied* flagon disappears. The very earliest of the newer fashion are at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of 1598, at New College of 1602, and at Brasenose of 1608 (gift of Barnston), and from then they are common. Yours of 1598,' he says, 'are the latest of the true Elizabethan fashion I have seen as Church vessels, except one of 1613 at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, but this was made to match an earlier one of 1583 already there, which makes it rather an exception to rule.'

[1] Engraved in Cripps's 'Old English Plate,' 4th ed. p. 300.

[2] The maker's mark on the flagons, a hind couchant with the letters I D, is unknown to Mr. Cripps. All the plate is of English make.

CHAPTER XVI

THE GARDENS.

The gardens in front.

A CONSIDERABLE time elapsed after the foundation of the College before it had any garden except the two little walled enclosures in front, shown in the views of Loggan and Williams, which scarcely deserved the name. When the site of the Augustine friary was bought by the Foundress, the southern part, where the convent seems to have stood, for the depth of 240 feet northward from Holywell Street, was cut up into several long narrow holdings with numerous tenements and shops along the south and west frontages. The tenants were probably not disturbed in their occupation, and indeed the greater part of this ground, from the King's Arms Inn at the western corner to the house beyond the Music Room eastward, has ever since been let in small holdings to various occupants. Immediately to the north of these plots the College was built, occupying with its out-premises a little less than two acres, and stretching quite across the site of the Friary from side to side. This left to the north of it a parcel of garden ground of about two acres, which at the time of the purchase was underlet by Richard Kenner to Richard and John Burroughes. This plot, called 'the Grove,' was promptly let off by Mrs. Wadham to John Burroughes, gardener, of the parish of Holywell, for thirty-six years from Michaelmas 1611, at an annual rent of £8. The lease speaks of 'houses, backsides and garden grounds with appurt[e] containing by estimation 2 acres.' The tenant was bound

The southern part of the site always let off.

Only the middle of the site occupied by the Foundress.

The northern part of site let off by the Foundress.

> to leave the ground well and sufficiently furnished with apple trees pear trees and other fruit trees thereupon to be growing of the growth of 20 years fit for an orchard at the end of 36 years.

To face p. 210

THE CHAPEL, FROM THE FELLOWS' GARDEN

This garden came within a few yards of the north side of the College, leaving a narrow lane along that side of it[1] about equal to a corresponding lane left in the same way along the south side. These, with the two enclosed plots in front which were apparently allotted to the use of the Warden and the Fellows respectively, and the Cemetery behind, were all that the College had by way of garden or open ground attached to it. No alteration was made during the time of the first three Wardens. In a list of the College revenues in 1633 the £8 rent for the garden still appears in the account; but Warden Estcot who died in 1644, before the expiration of John Burroughes's lease, took in about half the ground and made it into a garden for his own use. Under his successor Warden Pitt,

The cemetery

Garden taken in by Warden Estcot, C. A.D. 1640.

> At a meeting Jul. 30th A.D. 1645 it was mutually agreed that Mr. Warden and his Succefsours fhall hold and enioy, for seuen yeares from ye feast of St. Michael the Arch-angell next enfuing, without rendring any Rent, all that part of ye Colledge Garden-Ground next adioyning unto the North part of ye College, as the same is now diuided from ye other part of the faid Garden-Ground, in fuch fort as Dr Estcot the late Warden held and enioyed ye fame[2].
>
> (Signed by Geo. Ashwell, Bursar, and six Fellows.)

This parcel of ground is the first or narrower part of the present Warden's garden, equal in depth to the Fellows' garden. The wider part of his garden beyond of course did not then belong to the College at all. (v. plan, Plate IV, at page 22, sup.)

The rest of the two acres, corresponding to what is now the Fellows' garden, was let off on the same day,—July 30, 1645,—for seven years to Maria Coke, for the nominal rent of 6*d.* a year[3], but was resumed by the College before the end of the term. On July 17, 1650, under Warden Wilkins, it was resolved

Present Fellows' garden taken in A.D. 1650.

> that ye College garden be taken in from Mrs. Mumforde at Michaelmas

[1] This lane along the North of the College, between it and what was not yet the gardens, must have been John Buller's 'non ultra walk.' Dr. Ingram's suggestion that it was along the N. wall of the Fellows' garden is disproved by the fact that none of that garden was taken in at the time of Buller's death in 1634.

[2] 'Convention Book,' ii.

[3] Muniment room. Lease to Maria Coke.

next & y^t ye charges of taking it in and dividing it shall be defrayed by way of loane out of halfe ye dividend woodmony[1].

From a marginal note in Dr. Wilkins's handwriting it appears '*the expenſe of ye garden*' came to £72. 13*s.* 0*d.*, a moderate sum even at the value of money at that time, for the elaborate way in which the garden was laid out. In Loggan's print, twenty-four years later (v. Frontispiece), we see it in all the glory of prim parterres, straight alleys, clipped borders and hedges of yew or box, and in the middle at the intersection of two main walks a great mound crowned with a circle of posts and rails, ascended by a staircase on one side, and supporting a great figure of Atlas with a globe on his shoulders. We cannot be wrong in seeing the hand of the ingenious Dr. Wilkins, 'the greatest curioso of the time,' in this triumph of formal gardening, and we may imagine the pleasure with which he showed it, then freshly made, to his friend John Evelyn, the archmaster of woodcraft and gardening, at his visit in 1654. But if the prints may be trusted, Wadham gardens sixty years later displayed marvels of the topiary art in still greater perfection (Plate xviii). During the interval the yew hedges have grown up and been trimmed into flat walls and even clipped into balustrades, the formal parterres have become more formal still, and the regularly spaced trees are shaped into pinnacles and pyramids. Atlas still reigns supreme on his mound, which we now see contains a summer house entered from behind. The Warden's garden contains a little Doric temple in the middle of a geometrical parterre, and numerous clipped yew hedges of marvellous flatness. In one of the small lawns into which it is divided is a statue on a pedestal, and in the other a structure which one would fain believe to be one of the wonderful 'apiaries' with which Dr. Wilkins delighted John Evelyn, and through him King Charles II. May not the statue also be that contrived by the same inventive genius, '*which gave a voice and uttered words by a long concealed pipe which went to its mouth, whilst one speaks through it at a good distance*[2]'?

Fellows' garden laid out.

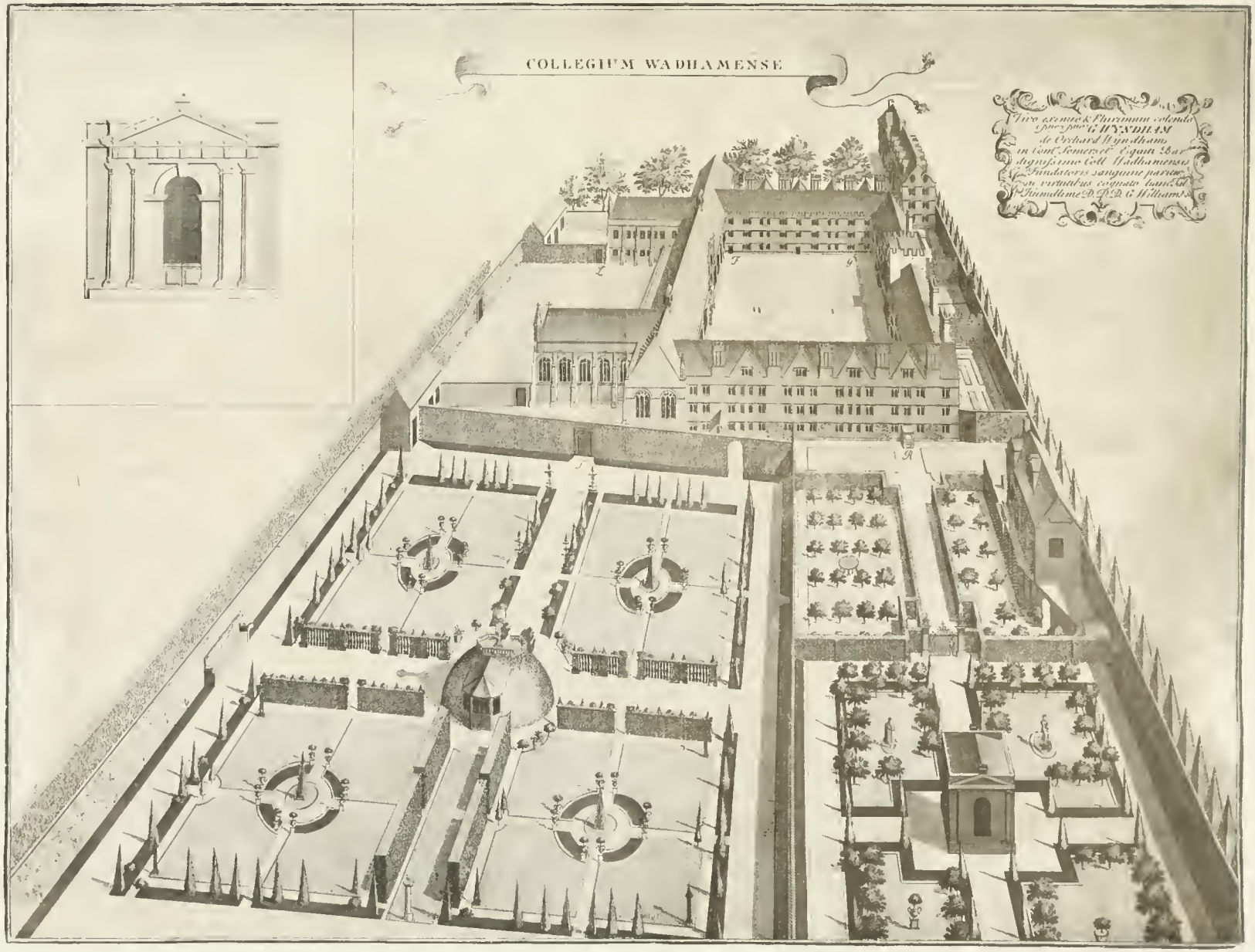
The gardens in 1733.

John Evelyn's account of Wadham gardens.

The Convention Books contain but few references to the garden after this, except such as relate to the payment of the gardener, and

[1] 'Convention Book,' i.

[2] Evelyn's 'Diary,' vol. i. p. 271. Ed. 1818, Bray.



THE GARDENS AND COLLEGE IN 1733. FROM PRINT IN WILLIAMS'S 'OXONIA DEPICTA'

the apportionment of his wages between the Warden and the Fellows. In 1720 the walls of the Warden's and Fellows' Gardens were raised, new pointed, and repaired '*in a convenient manner such as was proper for the preservation of the mounds of the College*[1].' Before this, in 1685, the east wall of the Fellows' garden was built for them at his own expense by Robert Smyth, M.D., mayor of Wells, and a member of the College. His liberality is recorded by the following inscription in the wall[2]:—

The garden walls.

ROBERTVS SMYTH, M.D.
et Prætor Civitatis Wellensis
in Agro Somerset
Pro benevolo Suo
in Collegium Wadhami animo
Hunc murum propriis
Sumptibus Struxit
M.DC.LXXXV.

In 1730 there is a resolution '*that ye Trees next ye wall in ye Garden be taken up and planted on the other side of ye grass walk, And that ye Gardener be paid*,' to which is added in a small hand the remark, 'N. B. *This does not confirm the cauſless and expenſive alteracõns in ye Garden.*' What those alterations were we are not told.

Alterations in the garden, A.D. 1730.

In 1745, five pounds is laid out in repairing the Fellows' garden, and in future every Fellow is to be '*put on 2s. 6d. quarterly towards garden money instead of the Shilling they are now put on*[3].'

Eight years later some alterations of a tolerably extensive kind were made. On April 6, 1753, it was agreed '*to build a wall from the north west corner of the College up to the middle division of the Warden's garden, and so on to the west wall.*' The effect of this was to enclose him a yard next Park Street. The middle division is shown in

Party-walls in the gardens, A.D. 1753.

[1] 'Convention Book,' May 4, 1720.
[2] Dr. Smyth left several benefactions to the College: v. Gardiner, 'Regist.' p. 229.
[3] 'Convention Book,' Dec. 6, 1745.

Williams's print (v. Plate xviii). Also a wall was to be built '*on the other side at the north east end of the Lodgings and so on to the Fellows' garden and from thence to the tool-house in their garden.*' This must have been on the line of the original north boundary of the College premises before the gardens were taken in. We also hear of the new laying out of the Fellows' garden, and the removal of the mount, '*the statue of Atlas having been blown down by the High wind, and broke all to pieces*[1].' It is satisfactory to have his fall recorded, for it removes all doubt of his having actually existed; and rids us of the haunting suspicion that the quaint gardens in Loggan and Williams may have been only creations of the artists' poetic imagination.

Fall of the Statue of Atlas, A. D. 1753.

The next alteration was in Warden Gerard's time, twenty-four years later. The plot of ground behind the College destined for a burying-ground seems to have been very little used for that purpose, and it was now determined to convert it into a garden. On Dec. 10, 1777, it was agreed

The cemetery thrown into the Fellows' gardens, A. D. 1777.

> to inclose the ground behind the College (which has already been planted and prepared for that purpose) for a garden to be appropriated to the use and convenience of the Warden and actual Fellows only.

The back gate leading to Love Lane and the side doors in the walls that ran eastwards from chapel and kitchen and enclosed this plot of ground were to be opened by the same key, and a sufficient quantity of numbered keys were to be provided for those who were 'members of this garden.'

The back gate.

> The great night lock of the Back gate to be still continued on * * * and the Porter to have admission into the Garden every night and morning for the purpose of locking and unlocking the same as usual.

In this state the gardens remained another period of eighteen years. In front were the little walled gardens between the College and the road. To the north were the Warden's garden and the Fellows' garden enclosed and divided by walls, and the latter separated by a

Subdivisions of the gardens.

---

[1] 'Convention Book.' In the bursar's accounts for 1753 is a payment of £18 to the gardener for clearing away the Mount, and of £77 to one Burgess for the new walls.

wall from a lane running east and west along the north side of the College to an outbuilding containing a tool house and certain necessary offices for the Fellows. A wall with a door in it parted this lane from the new Fellows' garden, originally the graveyard. On the south of the College was a similar lane leading to a similar outbuilding for the use of the College and for storing charcoal. Another wall with a door in it divided this lane from the old graveyard and new garden. This curious collection of little walled enclosures naturally invited the reforming hand, and in Warden Wills's time the final change was made which brought the Fellows' garden into its present form. The outbuildings were removed and provided for elsewhere, the double walls between the Fellows' two gardens were removed, there being no longer any occasion for the private approach between them, and the two gardens were thrown together[1].

Removal of the party-walls in the garden, A.D. 1795.

The next day Warden Wills

> executed a deed of gift from himself to Wadham College of the Lease of Haines's Garden adjoining northward to the Warden and Fellows' Gardens in trust for the use of the Warden of Wadham College for ever[2].

Dr. Wills's addition to the Warden's garden, A.D. 1795.

This was a plot of a little less than four acres occupying a corner of the old entrenchments thrown up at the time of the siege of Oxford, which Dr. Wills held as a leasehold from Merton College. It occupied the whole space between the site of the Austin Friars and what had already for more than a hundred years been known as '*the New Parks*[3],' and this addition brought the College property to its present limits. The new acquisition was added to the Warden's garden of which it forms the larger part, and by no means the least attractive feature it possesses is the raised terrace walk which runs along its eastern and northern sides on the top of the old earthworks thrown up by the Royalist garrison in 1642[4]. Dr. Symons, afterwards Warden, whose

[1] 'Convention Book,' April 8, 1795.

[2] 'Convention Book,' April 9, 1795.

[3] So described by Prince in 1700. Wood speaks of drilling in New Park in 1642; 'Annals,' ii. 444.

[4] Wood, 'Annals,' ii. 456, speaks of the entrenchments being dug in New Park, in Dec. 1642, and of the King's vexation at finding only 12 persons working on them instead of 122.

connexion with the College began in 1803, only eight years after the acquisition of this ground, has recorded that

Previous state of the ground added to the Warden's garden.

> the premises when they came into the possession of the Warden consisted of a cottage and a common market garden unenclosed, with an open public walk through it, and the whole expense of encompassing it with walls, and of converting it into its present ornamental condition, was borne by the Lefsee, the Warden that is[1].

Decline of the 'ars topiaria.'

These important changes led to a general remodelling of the whole of the College gardens. The days of formal gardening and of the 'ars topiaria' were gone by. No one with pretension to taste any longer 'in trim gardens took his pleasure.' The landscape gardener was abroad; the quaint parterres and curious knots of the old-fashioned pleasaunces were levelled and turfed over, the clipped yews and box trees were rooted up, and everything now was to be natural, sylvan, and romantic. Trees were planted so as to disguise the extent of the domain, vistas were devised to give it fictitious expanse, and the discovery that nature abhorred straight lines caused the straight garden walks and alleys of the older style to wind and twist with serpentine curves and lose themselves among the shrubberies. Wadham College gardens had outlived the birth of the new fashion for a surprisingly long time. 'Capability' Brown had risen and flourished, and had been in his grave some thirteen years, and yet the old gardens of Loggan's and Williams's prints remained much as they were. But their hour came at last, and in 1796

The Fellows' garden modernised, A. D. 1796.

> it was agreed to adopt the plan of alterations in the Fellows' Garden, recommended by M^r. Shipley, the Duke of Marlborough's Gardener; and it was ordered that all the Trees marked by M^r. Shipley should be immediately cut down; that all that remain'd of the old Tool house and cross Walls should be taken away; and that the whole should be sold; and the produce of the Sale should be applied towards the expences of the proposed Alterations[2].

Purchase of freehold from Merton College.

The last event in the history of the gardens is the conversion of the leasehold tenure of the northern or new part of the Warden's

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[1] 'Convention Book,' June 21, 1871. The walls were erected it is said by Dr. Tournay.

[2] 'Convention Book.'

garden into freehold by purchase from Merton College. The fines had been paid by the College and recovered with interest in annual instalments from the Warden, and in 1834, fourteen years of the lease being yet unexpired, the College bought the fee-simple from Merton College for £1600[1].

The present Fellows' garden.

The modernizing of the gardens, especially that of the Fellows, was done on the whole with taste and forbearance. The old square walk still surrounds it and has not been tortured into meaningless curves and idle deviations from rectitude. The trees are beautiful, and the peeps of the grey walls and gables through the bosky foliage of lime and beech, or under the spreading arms of cedars, are delightful. The silver grey walls of the chapel with their traceried lights rise from the softest and most velvety of lawns, and though one longs for a glimpse of the old-world garden of Dr. Wilkins's time, one cannot after all bring oneself to wish it back again in reality, or seriously desire to instal Atlas once more on his mound, and set up again the ingenious Doctor's speaking statue, and his transparent apiaries built like castles and palaces and adorned with a variety of dials, little statues, and vanes[2].

Original enclosures in front of the College.

After the modernizing of the gardens in 1796 the only part of the original garden ground still unaltered was that between the College and the road. Loggan's print of 1675 shows a high wall in front of the College on the edge of the road with a rather imposing gateway of Jacobean architecture in the middle, opposite the tower gateway of the College. From this outer gateway return walls ran back to the College, enclosing the approach to the inner gateway between them. The two small enclosures right and left of this passage were laid out as gardens, and reached by doors in the side walls of the approach. This arrangement is shown again in Williams's plate of 1733, but the removal of the walls seems to have been contemplated soon after, for in the Oxford Almanack of 1738 instead of the walls is shown a row of stone piers crowned with urns and connected by railings, the gate

Proposed new front enclosure in 1738.

[1] In relation to the tenure and ownership of the Warden's garden v. 'Convention Book,' Nov. 7, and Dec. 6, 1809; Mar. 13, 1834; Nov. 20, 1835; Jan. 22, 1836; Feb. 22, 1843; June 21, 1871.

[2] Evelyn's diary, ut supra.

piers having statues on them, and being joined to the College by return piers and railings. The fences in front run on the lines of the original walls but are open instead of being solid. This plan, like many others shown in the Oxford Almanacks, was never carried out, and the original walls survived till 1805. In that year

Removal of the original front wall and gateway, A.D. 1805.

> it was proposed to take down the wall before the College towards the Road, and in its stead to put up an Iron Palisade; and the Warden (Dr. Wills) was requested to procure a plan and estimate to be made and given in for doing this[1].

Next year one of the first resolutions after Dr. Tournay's election was

> that a handsome Palisade should be placed in the Front of the College. That an outer gate corresponding with the architecture of the front should be erected, together with nine piers, according to a plan delivered by Mr. Harris[2].

New piers and railings, A. D. 1806.

This fence of piers and railings was actually built, and may be seen in the print of the front of the College in Ackerman's 'Oxford.' It was a poor design of 'carpenter's Gothic,' but is interesting as showing that it was still thought important to preserve the outer gate of the original plan. This structure did not last many years, but was soon removed to make way for something still lighter. The 'Oxford Guide' of 1822 says,

New piers and railings removed and present railings substituted, A. D. 1822.

> The front of the College was much improved in 1822 by the removal of the heavy iron and stonework erected a few years since, in place of which are light iron palisades[3].

These light railings are shown in Ingram's 'Memorials of Oxford,' in 1837, and are those still in existence.

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[1] 'Convention Book,' Nov. 1, 1805. [2] 'Convention Book,' July 5, 1806.
[3] 'Oxford Guide' for 1822, p. 98.

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